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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

SARACENS.

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By SIMON OCKLEY, B.D.

Vicar of *Swaveſey* in *Cambridgeſhire*, Profeſſor of *Arabick* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. ROBERT Earl of OXFORD and Earl MORTIMER.

VOLUME the SECOND.

VV. J. 21

CAMBRIDGE,

Printed for the ſole Benefit of Mrs. ANNE OCKLEY, by Permiſſion of HENRY LINTOT, Eſq;

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JAMES,

Earl of *Caernarvan,*

THIS

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

Hiſtory of the SARACENS

Is moſt humbly Dedicated,

By his LORDSHIP's

Moſt Obedient Humble Servant,

SIMON OCKLEY.

INTRODUCTION.

DESIGNING to communicate to the World part at leaſt of the hitherto very imperfect Hiſtory of the vaſt Empire of the *Saracens*, which like a Deluge overwhelmed at once both the Eaſtern and Weſtern Part of the World; we could think of no Method ſo proper as the having recourſe to the moſt Authentick and Celebrated Authors of that Warlike Nation. Accordingly, about Nine Years ago we preſented the World with Three Lives of the immediate Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, collected with all the Diligence and Accuracy that the Opportunities indulged us at that time would admit: Which hearty Endeavour of ours to enlarge the borders of Hiſtory, according to the beſt of our Ability, hath met with ſuch Approbation from Perſons of diſtinguiſhed Taſte and Learning both at Home and Abroad, that we were reſolved not to omit the firſt Opportunity of proceeding in our Undertaking.

In our firſt Volume we have given an Account of the wonderful Succeſs of the *Saracens* in the ſpeedy Conqueſt of *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *Ægypt*: The Particulars of the Sieges of *Damaſcus*, *Alexandria*, *Aleppo*, *Antioch*, *Jeruſalem*, and ſeveral other Places of great Importance, as

delivered by their own Authors: The Foundation of the Deſtruction of the *Grecian* Empire, and the Eſtabliſhment of that of the *Saracens* under the Government of *Abubeker*, *Omar*, and *Othman*, the immediate Succeſſors of *Mahomet*.

But the Reader will find himſelf deceived, as well as I was; if he expects in this Second Volume ſuch a particular Account, or, which is more remarkable, almoſt any at all, of their Foreign Conqueſts (unleſs the bare mentioning them may be reckoned as ſuch) as is to be found in the Firſt. When they firſt undertook the Conqueſt of the Univerſe every thing beyond their own Bounds was new to them, and their Atchievements were no leſs matter of Surpriſe to themſelves than to their Neighbours; but afterwards, when they were grown conſiderable enough to quarrel among themſelves, and their Foreign Enemies were removed ſo far from the Center of the Government, that, let their Succeſs prove which way it would, it was not likely to affect the Vitals of the Empire; their Hiſtorians paſs thoſe diſtant Affairs over very tranſiently, and ſeldom deſcend to Particulars, unleſs there happens to be ſomething very remarkable: Not but that there are in ſeveral of their Libraries particular Accounts, from whence a great many Circumſtances might be gathered relating to what concerns *Africa*, and

entire

entire Hiſtories of the Conqueſt of *Spain*: For the Eaſtern Parts of the *Perſian* Hiſtorians are the beſt.

Inſtead of ſuch Accounts, we are here entertained with a quite different Scene of Affairs: Namely, thoſe terrible ſhocking Diviſions among themſelves concerning the Succeſſion of *Ali* and his Family; the Abdication of his Son *Haſan*, and the Death of *Hoſein*, which have laid ſuch a Foundation of Diſcord between *Ali*'s Followers (amongſt which are the *Perſians* and ſeveral others) and the Traditioniſts (of which are the *Turks*, and whoſe Creed we have cauſed to be inſerted) as is never to be reconciled ſo long as Mahometaniſm hath any Being upon the Face of the Earth; though ſome of the *Turks* interpret that Fable of *Mahomet*'s having divided the Moon and holding one half of it in his Sleeve, which afterwards was joined again to the other, as prefiguring the Diviſion of the Profeſſors of *Mahometaniſm* (whoſe Standard is the New-Moon) into thoſe two great Sects, and the Reunion of them after a certain Period of Years.

Theſe Things, together with the Changing of their Government, which was left to them Elective by *Mahomet*, into Hereditary by *Moawiyah*, and the ſettling all things firmly in the Reigns of his Succeſſors; beſides the extending

their Dominions to ſuch a prodigious Greatneſs, are the principal Contents of this preſent Volume, wherein we have added Fifty Years to our former Hiſtory: So that though we have not yet arrived to the Conqueſt of *Spain*, nor the Learned Age of the *Arabians*, yet we are very near the former, and not far from the beginning of the latter; having brought the *Saracen* Empire to an eſtabliſhed Settlement, and written the Hiſtory (incluſive of the Life of *Mahomet*) of Fourſcore Years, in which the *Saracens* conquered very much more than the *Romans* did in Four Hundred.

I deſigned, when I firſt ſet about this Work, to take in the whole Series of the Affairs of the Chriſtians during that Period; but upon ſecond Thoughts it appeared to me to be foreign to my Purpoſe; for every one may ſatisfie himſelf, by reading this Hiſtory, how regardleſs they were of any *Europæan* Powers: It is more than viſible that they were wholly taken up in Domeſtick Quarrels; ſo that ſuch a Way of proceeding muſt have occaſioned a great many Diſcourſes to be intermixed through the whole, in order to reconcile the diſagreeing Accounts of the *Greeks* and *Arabians*, both as to Hiſtory and Chronology; whereby the Series of the *Arabick* Hiſtory muſt have been very frequently and very unſeaſonably interrupted. A Man might

as

as well undertake to write the Hiſtory of *France*, for the time, out of our News-Papers, as to give an Account of the *Arabians* from Chriſtian Hiſtorians. Wherefore all that we promiſe is this; we fix our Chronology to a Day: The *Arabians*, (and it is their Hiſtory we write, and no other) are the moſt likely to give the beſt Account of Things performed among themſelves; and we leave to every one the Liberty of comparing it with any thing done or written in that Time.

Then as to the *Greeks*, whom we have ſeen ſufficiently broken in the former Part of our Hiſtory by the prevailing Arms of the Victorious *Saracens*, it was not in their Power to do any thing conſiderable. The *Saracens* had never a Deputy-Lieutenant or General that would not have thought it the greateſt Affront, and ſuch as ought to ſtigmatize him with indelible Diſgrace, if he ſhould have ſuffered himſelf to have been inſulted by the united Forces of all *Europe*. And if any one aſks, Why the *Greeks* did not exert themſelves more in order to the Extirpation of theſe inſolent Invaders; it is a ſufficient Anſwer to any Perſon that is acquainted with the Characters of thoſe Men, to ſay that *Amrou* kept his Reſidence at *Alexandria*, and *Moawiyah* at *Damaſcus*.

But what a great many Perſons, otherwiſe of no contemptible Reading nor Abilities, won-

der at, is the vaſt difference between the Occurrences in our preſent Hiſtory and thoſe that are found in others. But whoſoever conſiders the Briſkneſs and Activity of the *Arabians* (the effect of the warmth of their Climate, Temperance, and conſtant Exerciſe) joined to their Enthuſiaſm, will find an eaſy Solution of thoſe extravagant Actions that ſeem to diſtinguiſh them from the reſt of Mankind.

For this Reaſon no one ought to wonder if I have accommodated my Stile to the Humour of the People concerning whom I write. To write of a Nation in their Circumſtances that were all Humouriſts, Bigots, and Enthuſiaſts, in ſuch a Stile as becomes the Sedateneſs and Gravity of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, would be very unſuitable and unnatural. In ſuch a Caſe you put them in a Dreſs which they would no more thank you for, than a *Roman* Senator would for a long Periwig, or *Socrates* for a Pair of Silk Stockings. You rob them of all their Merit; thoſe very Things upon the Account of which you laugh at them, they value themſelves moſt upon; and it is moſt certain that the nearer you bring a Man that is ſingular to the reſt of Mankind, the farther you remove him from himſelf, and deſtroy the very Being of his Singularity. This will, I hope, ſatisfie the Judicious Reader (and I am not over-ſollicitous about the

reſt)

reſt) that I have not deviated from that way of writing which was firſt eſtabliſhed by the Ancients, and always admired and imitated by the wiſeſt of the Moderns, not out of Choice but Neceſſity; otherwiſe I ſhould have abuſed both the *Arabians* and my Readers: The *Arabians*, by putting them into a Diſguiſe under a Pretence of dreſſing them; my Readers, by defrauding them of the Humour of that Enthuſiaſtick Nation: So that the more I had affected to have copied any ancient Author, the greater Succeſs I had been crowned with in my Imitation, the farther I muſt have receded from what the Nature of ſuch a Work as this requires, which would have been an unpardonable Fault in an Hiſtorian. Wherefore I have let them tell their own Story their own way, and followed them ſo cloſe that if they themſelves were to ariſe from the dead, they ſhould confeſs that, according to my poor Ability and ſmall Skill in that copious and difficult Language, I had done them Juſtice. It is my Buſineſs to ſet the Matter in a clear Light, the Reader's to Judge. I have therefore abſtained as much as poſſible from interſixing Reflections of my own, unleſs where there appeared a Neceſſity of illuſtrating ſomething that might not be altogether ſo obvious to Perſons unacquainted with Oriental Affairs.

The Ancients, it is true, had an uniform Way of writing; they are content to expreſs the Senſe, but the Manner is ſtill the ſame. In the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great, or the ſecond *Punic* War, an *Indian* or a *Carthaginian* ſpeaks *Roman* Senſe and Idiom. But it appears by the Pains that the Criticks have taken about that little piece of *Punick* in *Plautus* (which is moſt wretchedly corrupted) how glad they would have been to have ſeen a *Punick* Hiſtorian, who, though relating the ſame Facts, would have been almoſt as different from any thing we have as the *Old Teſtament* is from *Livy*. I have endeavoured not only to repreſent the Facts, but to trace the very Expreſſion; to ſet the whole in ſuch a ſtrong and clear Light as it appeared to me in the Original; and in a word to infuſe the *Arabick* Idiom into the Reader without his being at the Pains of ſtudying it; and ſo much the rather becauſe it ſavours ſo much of the ancient manner of Expreſſion uſed in our Sacred Oracles; ſo that if it be ſometimes a little to the Prejudice of the *Engliſh* Idiom, I hope it is an Error on the right hand, becauſe I thought it better to omit what every underſtanding Reader could ſupply himſelf withal, than deprive him of what he could not. Whether or no we have in this particular been ſo happy as to fall in with the Reader's Judgment, to which we

we do by no means pretend to preſcribe, this we are aſſured of, that we have herein obſerved the *Golden Rule*, and dealt with our Reader as we would in ſuch Caſe be dealt with our ſelves, who ſhould take it very ill to find all the Genius and Humour of a Nation pared away as ſuperfluous, to make room for the Author's Politeneſs.

Then as to the Particulars. Some of them, I confeſs, ſeem very odd and ridiculous; but the more they are ſo, the more they ſhew the People concerning whom we write. Beſides, there is a vaſt deal of difference between being a Reader and a Spectator. Thoſe Things amongſt them that make us laugh now, would have made us tremble then. The Habit, the Manner, the Gravity, Sobriety, and Activity of that Conquering People, are not beneath the Obſervance of the greateſt Genius. The Reaſon of our Laughter is the difference of their Manners, which is childiſh. For this Reaſon it is that Ignorants laugh at Scholars; Fools at Wiſe Men; Boys at old Ones; Atheiſts and Debauchees at Perſons of Virtue and Religion. However I do not deny but that I have here and there inſerted a Relation wherein the Matter of Fact it ſelf contains nothing very extraordinary; only I would not omit it, becauſe, methinks, the Circumſtances are ſo very expreſſive of the Humour and Genius of that Tragicomical People.

Who

Who would not rather have omitted the Circumſtances of the Siege of a Town than the [4] manner of *Ali*'s going to be inaugurated? The former a Man may conceive ſome Notion of by himſelf, but none of the latter without good Authority. A great many Cities have been taken with almoſt the ſame Circumſtances, but I believe very few Emperors were ever proclaimed with ſuch as thoſe. A great many other little Incidents there are, very uſeful and entertaining in themſelves that may be properly enough inſerted in writing a Life, which would not ſo well come into an univerſal Hiſtory, whoſe Courſe goes on like a vaſt River ſometimes overflowing its Banks, ſometimes keeping within its Bounds: Sometimes with a great impetuous Fall, ſometimes with a ſmooth and almoſt imperceptible Motion: But in writing the Lives of Monarchs the Courſe is frequently interrupted, and ſeveral Things fall in relating to his particular Perſon; His Humour, Friends, Enemies, Paſſions, Affections, Dangers, Deliverances, Apothegms, and the like, not properly belonging to the Hiſtory of the People: Such is the difference between *Suetonius* and *Livy*.

But to write after the manner of the moſt celebrated Univerſal Hiſtorians, all little Circumſtances and trivial Diſcourſes muſt be omit-

[4] Pag. 5.

ted;

ted; the Language muſt be all of the ſame thread, and the whole carried on in a ſtrong eloquent flowing Stile; and when the Subject calls for it, (as in any very extraordinary Caſe) proportionable Ornament muſt be added; the Images magnified beyond the Life; and embelliſhed to that degree ſometimes, that the Hiſtorian puts on the Orator before he is aware: Speeches muſt be made ſuitable to every Occaſion according to the Abilities of the Author; the Cadence muſt be ſmooth and eaſy, and the Periods full: Nothing muſt be inſerted that falls beneath the Dignity of Hiſtory; otherwiſe it muſt of Neceſſity oftentimes happen, that a great deal of Nature is loſt. The whole Compoſure muſt be Uniform, and managed as regularly as a well built Edifice: In ſhort, every thing muſt be carried on with ſuch a round turn that the Facts ſhall ſeem to be made on purpoſe to embelliſh the Hiſtory, rather than the Hiſtory for the Relation of the Facts: He that reads for Delight, and loves to be entertained with artful Compoſitions, will chuſe this way; he that ſtudies Nature will be better pleaſed with the other: That is one reaſon why Perſons of the greateſt Severity and exacteſt Judgment delight in Comedy, not only becauſe it diverts them, but becauſe it lets them into the Humour of Mankind, and paints it in all Conditions of Life

as

as it really is. Now why an Hiſtorian, whoſe buſineſs is Truth, ſhould, for the ſake of Imitation, ſmother every thing that is Characteriſtick and diſtinguiſhing of the People concerning whom he writes, I cannot underſtand. Wherefore let *Livy* make Speeches for his People, and *Tacitus* invent Politicks, it is the Glory of our *Arabick* Hiſtorians to repreſent the naked Truth as handed down from their Anceſtors in its native Simplicity. So that as much as we are exceeded by other Authors in their elaborate Expreſſion, and the Strength and Artifice of their Compoſition, ſo much at leaſt do we hope to exceed them in the unaffected Plainneſs and Sincerity of our Relation.

But I ſhall tranſgreſs my Bounds before I am aware of it. I forget that I am a Tranſlator, and run the hazard of incurring the Diſpleaſure of a polite ſort of little Criticks, who will take it extremely amiſs if People of our inferior Claſs ſhall preſume to encroach upon their Prerogative, and dare in their Preſence to paſs a Judgment upon Stile or Compoſition. We that ſtudy Languages (the Learned ones I mean, for the other are an Accompliſhment) are always to conſider our ſelves as nailed down to the loweſt Form: And the leaſt Proficiency that way is a ſhrew'd Indication of a Man's want of Senſe, and ſavours rankly of Pedantry. Pedantry! that

Bane

Bane and Poiſon of good Manners and polite Converſation, infinitely preferable to all the Languages and Sciences in the World! And though it is not abſolutely impoſſible in the Nature of the thing it ſelf, and Hiſtory may furniſh us with ſome rare Inſtances wherein the Scholar and the Man of Senſe have been united in the ſame Perſon; yet there are ſo many numerous Examples to the contrary, that ſince the Experience of a nice diſcerning Age hath adjudged ſuch an application ſcandalous, a wiſe Man would take care (as in all other Criminal Caſes, however he might be ſecretly inclined) to avoid the leaſt Suſpicion of it for the ſake of his Reputation: But as for us, that have unhappily fallen into it, and preferred the Sound of Words to good Senſe; we ought to acquieſce in our Choice, and ſit down contented with our Lot: It is a Miſery of our own chooſing, and there is nothing left for our deareſt Friends, but only to bewail us, ſince it is irrecoverably out of their Power to aſſiſt us. Let this be our Conſolation, that we are capable of meriting the Protection of ſuch Great Men, even at the Expence of any Servitude! We are the Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water to the Congregation of our Learned *Iſrael!* But though they uſe us like *Gibeonites*, yet we are in Reality *Iſraelites*, and can prove our Deſcent better than any of them all:

all: We are of the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, *Aſſes couching down between Two Burthens*, viz. Of our own Studies and Labours on the one ſide, and an impertinent vexatious World on the other. It is our Buſineſs to crack the Shell, and their Privilege to eat the Kernel; And as great Architects only deſign or paſs a Judgment upon a Building, and leave the Sawing, and Cutting of Stone, and removing the Rubbiſh, to inferior Mechanicks; ſo our great Maſters imploy that ſervile Part of Mankind, whoſe Capacities qualify them for nothing elſe, in the Search of Languages.

As for their own Parts, they determine in all Caſes by dint of Superior *Genius*; judge from the Nature of the Things themſelves, without being impoſed upon by the Sounds of Words, and leave thoſe Two Crutches of Ancient and Modern Learning, to thoſe poor Wretches who are not able to crawl along without them. The Abſence of far fetched and dear bought Learning, is abundantly ſupplied in them by a Redundancy of Senſe and Underſtanding. The due, or even undue Mixture, in their common Converſation of ſuch Words as *Experience*, *Knowledge of Mankind*, *Underſtanding the World*, *Underſtanding* THINGS *not* WORDS: *Reading* MEN *inſtead of Reading* BOOKS, and above all *a Taſte*, ſets them at once upon the Heads of all the Learned,

Learned, whether Ancient or Modern: And ſince I have mentioned *a Taſte*, I remember in the Life of the famous *Father Paul* written by Father *Fulgentio*, who was intimately acquainted with his Converſation, he ſays that he had ſuch an exquiſite *Taſte* that he could immediately diſtinguiſh all the Ingredients of a Sawce or a Medicine. But this the Father attributes to his ſingular Abſtinence and the very rare Uſe of either. Theſe Gentlemens *Taſte* I take to be very much of the ſame Nature.

They were pleaſed to object againſt my Firſt Volume (I hope they will prove ſomething more merciful to this poor Second) that it was the ſtrangeſt Story that ever they heard ſince they were born! They never met with ſuch Folks in their Lives as theſe *Arabians!* That they never heard of this Account before, which certainly they muſt have done of courſe if any body elſe had! A Reverend Dignitary aſked me, If when I wrote that Book I had not lately been reading the Hiſtory of *Oliver Cromwell!* They ſay that the *Arabians* are given to Romance, and, I ſuppoſe, for that Reaſon not to be believed (according to *Ariſtotle*) when they ſpeak true: And above all, that a Hiſtory will never go down in this nice Age that contains only a Relation of Battles, but that the very Quinteſſence of a Hiſtory conſiſt in the *Politicks*.

Now

Now I muſt confeſs for my own part, that I am of ſuch an indolent Diſpoſition, that if I can but fairly get rid of this laſt grand Objection, I care not one Ruſh for all the reſt.. I confeſs that a Hiſtory without Politicks comes into the World in very unfaſhionable Circumſtances; eſpecially in a Generation wherein, if Fortune had not envied our Merit, we ſhould all have been Plenipotentiaries, Secretaries of State, or Privy-Counſellors! What affects me moſt is, that this Objection ſhould be made by theſe Polite Gentlemen, whom every body would have ſuppoſed to have been ſo well skilled in Analyticks, as upon the firſt ſight of any Action to have made an infallible Gueſs at the Springs of it. Beſides, I ſhould have run a Riſque on the other ſide, for it is an inſufferable Affront for an Author to leave nothing to his Intelligent Reader, but be always feeding him with a Spoon, and teaching him to read with a Feſcue! Who would once have imagined but that it was the peculiar Talent of theſe Gentlemen, upon firſt ſight of the Event to trace back the Springs of the Action; at leaſt to have a near Gueſs in an Enthuſiaſtick Tyrannical Government, ſupported by Perſons entangled in Family Quarrels entailed upon them from Generation to Generation, and not extinguiſhed, whatſoever they pretended, by their being united in the ſame Profeſſion of

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Mahometaniſm: From which Antecedent Diviſions aroſe thoſe terrible Convulſions in the State, that had it not been very well ſupported by their Averſion to Chriſtianity on the one ſide, and to Idolatry on the other, they muſt of courſe have become a Prey to their common Enemies. Add to this, that thoſe Perſons who were indulged the greateſt ſhare of their Prophet's Favour when alive, were treated with proportionable Reſpect after his Deceaſe: To that Degree that if any Perſon had been any way familiar with *Mahomet*, he was reckoned one of the *Companions*, [3] though he was never ſo young, and there was ſuch Reſpect paid to them as would have turned the Scale in almoſt any Debate; for they would go to a very great Extremity rather than the Authority of the *Companion of the Apoſtle* ſhould have been rejected: I mean if that Authority had been urged on the prevailing Side; for notwithſtanding their Allegiance to their Prince, it is evident they were no Bigots to indefeaſible Right.

But if the not having heard of this Hiſtory before be ſuch a terrible Objection againſt it, what would the having heard of it before have been? I muſt confeſs that Objection lies ſtrong

[3] *Ziyâd* was of this Number: He was born in the Year of the *Hegirah*, and was but Eleven Years old when *Mahomet* died. *See* p. 156.

againſt the Veracity of it to Perſons who would take it as an Affront to be ſuppoſed capable of being ignorant of ſuch a Conſiderable part of Hiſtory as this pretends to be, if we could once induce our Selves to believe that there could be any Truth in it. What I wonder moſt at is that thoſe very Gentlemen who were formerly acquainted with the Rivers *Jaxartes* and *Oxus*, *Indus* and the *Ganges* better than with the *Thames* it ſelf which they ſwam in every Holiday; who diſcourſed of *Aſia* as if they had been Surveyors to *Alexander* the Great; who would have diſputed every foot of Ancient Geography with no leſs eagerneſs than if it had been a Paternal Inheritance; and could pronounce concerning the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* with no leſs Certainty than the Oracle it ſelf; ſhould on a ſudden prove ſo indolent as not only to ſuffer thoſe delicate Provinces to be raviſhed out of their Hands without ſo much as venturing a Suit at Law about them, but even expreſs an ungrateful Diſpleaſure againſt thoſe who too officiouſly proffer their Service to reſtore them *Gratis*. However theſe Criticks are of the kinder ſort, they neither mean nor do any great Hurt; they only make themſelves a little Sport with thoſe Things which they do not ſo well underſtand; and, if they carry on the Humour upon that Foot, bid fair for the Reputation of the merrieſt Company

in

in the World. Great pity it is to ſpoil good Humour. But there is another ſort of a more Peſtilent and Malignant Nature, who magnifie the Memories of *Buxtorf*, *Bochart*, *Pocock* and all the reſt of our Heroes in that kind of Learning that they ever heard of, with no leſs Hypocritical Inſolence than the *Phariſees* in our Saviour's time repaired the Sepulchres of the Ancient Prophets, whilſt they were equally diſtant from once endeavouring to copy after their Example, as they were from ſuffering thoſe in their own Age to be at quiet that did. Theſe I deliver up to the care of *Miguel de Luna* a *Spaniſh* Phyſician, who hath left them this Receipt: [3] *Y a los detractores reſpondo que antes que comincien a Detractar tomen la pluma en la mano y hagan otro tanto, y con buena experiencia veran muy a la clara quanta mas facil es dezir mal q eſcriver libros para aprovechar a los virtuoſos que tienen Chriſtianidad y buena Conſciencia.* That is, *And I give this anſwer to the Detractors, that before they begin to detract let them take Pen in Hand and do ſo much more, and they will ſee very clearly by good Experience how much eaſier it is to ſpeak ill than to write Books for the Service of thoſe virtuous Perſons who hold Chriſtianity and a good Conſcience.*

[3] Prohemio de la Verdadera Hiſtoria Del Rey don Rodrigo: por Tarif Abentarique, Traduzido de la lengua Arabiga por Miguel de Luna. *P.* 3.

Now ſince I have mentioned *Miguel de Luna* I cannot help falling in with a Suſpicion of [4] *Monſieur Chevreau*'s concerning him, who is apt to think that he made that Book of the *Loſs of Spain*, which he pretended to Tranſlate out of *Arabick*. He ſays indeed that it is in the King of *Spain*'s Library. There may be a Book written by *Tarif Abentarique* concerning the *Conqueſt of Spain*; but then I am as certain as it is poſſible for a Man to be in a caſe of that Nature, that *De Luna*'s Book is no Tranſlation of it. I have looked but little into it indeed, but every Page confirmed me in my Suſpicion long before I ſaw *Chevreau*'s Remark. He talks of *Chaliphs* there which we do not find in our *Aſiatick* Hiſtorians, and of ſending for orders to them into *Arabia*, whereas their conſtant Reſidence was at *Damaſcus*; and never came near *Arabia* upon any occaſion whatſoever ſo long as the Houſe of *Ommiyah* reigned, unleſs when they went on Pilgrimage to *Meccah*. Beſide, the Letters in that Book are ſuch as were never written by any *Arabian* in this World: Every Line of them plainly ſpeak them to be his own; and I can never be induced to think otherwiſe, unleſs I would be convinced to the contrary by ſome learned Perſon who had ſeen the Original, or had an Opportunity of peruſing it my Self.

[4] *Chevreau*'s Hiſtory of the World, *Vol.* 3. *Book* 6. *Chap.* 1.

It

It is plain from the 47th Page of our preſent Hiſtory that when *Moawiyah* was reſolved to ſtand it out in oppoſition to *Ali* he wrote a Letter to *Amrou* to come to his Aſſiſtance: ſuch an Hiſtorian would not have ſcrupled to have made one for him, ſuppoſe as follows.

Moawiyah *to* Amrou.

SUrely I am much miſtaken in my Opinion of your Senſe, Courage and Zeal for the Religion, if your private Retirement in Paleſtine *ſhould have ſo far chagrined or enervated you, as not ſtill to retain the Memory of the paſt Sufferings of our Friends, or to remain unconcerned at their preſent Afflictions. The houſe of* Haſhem *inſults us*; Ali *and his Party bid us Defiance. Though you indeed have no ſuch particular Obligation to* Othman, *yet now there is a fair Opportunity of being revenged upon our Common Enemies.* Ali *hath the* Irakians *and ſome of the* Arabian *Tribes engaged in his Intereſt, but what are they compared to our Victorious Troops that have in ſo ſhort a time broken the force of the* Grecians, *a Nation always exerciſed in War, not only againſt their Borderers, North and Weſt, but againſt the* Perſians. *Beſides it is not to be doubted but ſome Expedient may be found out to ſow ſuch a Diviſion amongſt* Ali's *Partiſans, as may turn to a very good Account; for it is not now a Diſpute*

about Religion but Juſtice. We call for Vengeance for the Blood of Othman; *enough will aſſiſt us under that Pretence, without having any regard to the Merits of our Controverſy. The Perfidiouſneſs of the* Chaldeans *and* Babylonians *is ſo notoriouſly known, that even* Ali *himſelf, were he to ſpeak out, would confeſs that they were much more likely to attend the Succeſs of any Perſon in whoſe Intereſt they pretended to engage, than to run any riſque in his Service. Beſides your own* Egypt *wants you*; Egypt *ſo gloriouſly wreſted out of the Hands of the* Grecian *Dog by your Victorious Arms. That ſhall be yours if we ſucceed: and if you give us your Aſſiſtance there is no apparent Reaſon to fear, if it pleaſe God.*

Now ſuppoſe any one in my Place had taken this Method of writing Hiſtory, he could not have failed of Materials, provided he had Judgment enough to diſtinguiſh them, to have made whatſoever he had pleaſed of it, without once telling a poſitive Lye, or deviating from the real Truth of the Matter of Fact; unleſs this may be called ſo, to write a Letter that never was written, but which, if it had, would have been ſuitable to the Occaſion. Now I grant that the fineſt and niceſt of the Modern Judges, founding their Opinion upon the Practice of the moſt celebrated Ancients, do allow an Hiſtorian that Li-

Liberty, provided it be done diſcreetly, to compoſe Speeches, and inſert Prudent Admonitions, provided nothing be done againſt *Decorum*, nor prejudicial to the Truth of the Hiſtory. Let us hear the Judgment of the inimitable *Fracaſtorius* ſpeaking in the Perſon of *Naugerius*.

The other Gentleman in the Dialogue enquiring how much Ornament the Orator would allow to an Hiſtorian that ſtood in need of the Aſſiſtance of his Art, *Naugerius* anſwers,[1] "*That* "*ſince what he, [the Hiſtorian] propoſes, is to* "*write Matters of Fact for the prudent Conduct* "*of Human Life; it is ſufficient to anſwer this* "*End if he uſes a proper, clean, grave, and juſt* "*manner of ſpeaking, which ſhall not always be* "*deſtitute of its Harmony neither. He may be al-* "*lowed ſometimes to feign Speeches, and give* "*Advice, in order to inſtill the more Wiſdom;* "*which I have according to the beſt of my Ability* "*attempted to perform in my Books of the Hiſtory*

[1] Quoniam igitur finis ejus eſt geſta ſcribere ad Prudentiam, quantum quidem ad hoc pertinet, ſat illi factum erit ſi propria, ſi candida, ſi gravi, ac vera Oratione utatur; cui interdum nec ſua deſit Muſica. Licebit & interdum ut effingat conciones & nonnulla conſilia ut Prudentiam majorem doceat; quod nos quoque in noſtris Hiſtoriarum libris de rebus Venetis, quantum in nobis fuit C. Cæſarem & Polybium gravem Authorem ſecuti præſtare conati ſumus, verum ita licebit ut gravitatis hiſtoriæ & veritatis nihil detraxerit, reliquas vero pulchritudinis illi negabit. *Fracaſtorii Naugerius* ſive *de Poetica*, p. 345.

" *of* Venice, *led by the Example of* Cæſar *and*
" Polybius *a grave Author. But he muſt only be*
" *permitted to do it ſo far as may be conſiſtent*
" *with the Gravity of the Hiſtory and the Truth*;
" *all other Ornaments he will deny him*: But,

Nobis non licet eſſe tam diſertis.

I have not indulged my ſelf this allowed Liberty, though I could have ſcreened my ſelf under the Patronage of theſe great Authorities. How I have dealt by my Hiſtorians I muſt leave to the Determination of thoſe Learned Perſons who either are at preſent or hereafter ſhall be both able and willing to compare my Book with the Originals from whence it was taken. It is to you, Gentlemen, that I appeal, by whoſe Judgment I muſt ſtand or fall. Whilſt ſome will have it a meer Tranſlation, though there be as much Difference as there is between Wheat in the Ear and Bread upon the Table; others, to be ſo much my own as hardly to have any Foot-ſtep in the Original; you only can judge how far it is a Tranſlation; how far embelliſhed: With what Judgment the Circumſtances I have inſerted were choſen, and thoſe I have omitted left out: You can ſee where I went ſtreight, and where I ſtumbled: Where I daſhed my Foot againſt a Rock every ſtep I ſet, and where I galloped pleaſantly over the Plain: In a word, you are the only Judges of the difficulties I went through,

through, and the moſt competent ones of the Merits of the whole Performance. But before I take my leave it is neceſſary that I advertiſe you concerning ſome few things, both for the Juſtification of my ſelf, and the ſaving you ſome trouble in your Examination. One Favour that I beg at your hands is, that you do not paſs a Judgment upon my Book, till you have compared it with the very ſame Manuſcripts that I made uſe of. Becauſe though I hope there are not a great many Miſtakes, yet there might poſſibly have been fewer, If I had either been furniſhed with better Copies, or two Copies of the ſame Book. You know what is to read (or rather not to read) without the *Diacritical* Points, (which though you are ſenſible, every one elſe is not, are not the Vowels but little Pricks by which the Letters in the Alphabet are a great many of them diſtinguiſhed one from the other) and how much a more difficult taſk we have with our Arabick in ſuch a caſe than *Plutarch* had with his *Latin* which he underſtood only by the Senſe. He knew the Hiſtory or Subject before, and could not fail of the true Reading of the Words; we come deſtitute of both to our Manuſcripts, and are almoſt forced to conjure both for Words and Meaning. Let us hear the Learned *Golius* his juſt Apology, that he makes for the Faults committed by the

Famous

Famous *Erpenius* in his Tranſlation of *Elmakin*. Theſe are his Words, [3] *For though this Manu-* " *ſcript was written in* Ægypt, *yet the Negli-* " *gence of the over-haſty Tranſcriber had moſt* " *abominably deformed it; eſpecially by leaving* " *out the Orthographical Points. The Commiſſion* " *of which Fault, eſpecially in Verſe and proper* " *Names, it can hardly be expreſſed how it puts* " *every thing out of Joynt, and throws all into* " *Confuſion, ſo that He was obliged oftentimes to* " *act the part of a* Diviner *before he could perform* " *that of an* Interpreter." Theſe Difficulties ariſing from the Nature of the Language, joyned to a bad Hand and a ſingle Copy, make things that would otherwiſe be plain inſuperably obſcure; and have oftentimes occaſioned the Omiſſion of Paſſages that would have been no inconſiderable Embelliſhment to our Hiſtory.

Nor muſt it be diſſembled, without the greateſt Arrogance, that all the Blame is not to be laid upon the Copies. It would be the height of Impudence for a Man to ſay that the Reaſon

[3] Nam licet Niloticus hunc Codicem Calumus exaraverit, nimium tamen feſtinantis incuria eundem peſſime deformârat, crebrâ imprimis omiſſione Orthographicæ punctationis: quod quidem vitium in metris præſertim & Propriis Nominibus commiſſum dici haud poteſt quam omnia luxet & incerta reddat: ita ut ſæpenumerò vatem priùs agere debuerit quam interpretem poſſit. *Golius, Præfat. ad* Erpenii *Hiſtor. Saracen. Arab.* Lat. Fol.

why

why he did not inſert ſuch or ſuch a Paſſage, was becauſe he did not judge it proper, when he muſt be conſcious at the ſame time that the only true Reaſon was becauſe he did not underſtand it. I do frankly confeſs that there are ſeveral things that I could have given a ſatisfactory Account of both to my ſelf and the Reader, which I have omitted upon the account of two or three obſcure Expreſſions. How it may fare with thoſe Perſons that have travelled the *Eaſt*, I am not ſo competent a Judge, though I have reaſon to think that even the beſt of them encounter their Difficulties: But this I dare anſwer for, that all that hath yet been communicated to us in *Europe* is not ſufficient to furniſh us with what we call a competent Skill in any other Language. What pity it was that the Importunity of thoſe perverſe Times that thought every Minute of Study loſt that was not employed in their inſipid way of Application to Theology, ſhould rob us of ſo much of the Life of our great Doctor *Pocock*, who could have unlocked to us the Treaſuries of the *Eaſt!* Whilſt he, good Man! out of Compliance to a ſtupid Generation, was reading over and comparing tedious Commentators! How much more would his Oriental Learning, ſo far as it relates to the Holy Scriptures, have ſhined by it ſelf in ſuch Diſcourſes as his incomparable Notes upon his

Porta

Porta Moſis, to which we have ſeen nothing equal ſince the Reſtauration of Oriental Learning!

How would the Candidates of Oriental Studies have rejoiced to ſee him publiſh his *Meidánis* Proverbs now in the *Bodleian* Library, to the number of Six Thouſand: Tranſcribed and Tranſlated by his own Hand; and which he deſired, as appears by what he hath written in the firſt Page, dated *Anno* 1637, That if he did not return from his ſecond Journey into the *Eaſt*, ſhould be publiſhed by the Learned Mr. *Thomas Gravius!*

What is it that ſo good natural Parts, ſuch indefatigable Induſtry, bleſſed with thoſe excellent Opportunities, and ſo long a Life (for I think he exceeded ninety) could not have helpt us to? What the *Eraſmus*'s, the *Budæus*'s, *Stephens*'s, *Scaliger*'s and *Caſaubon*'s have been to us in *Greek*, the ſame would he have been in *Arabick*, nay and ſo much more as the Difference is between living Cuſtoms and Languages, and dead ones. His Maſter in the *Eaſt*, (to the *Muſti*'s Credit be it ſpoken) having diſmiſſed him with this Compliment, *Go thy ways, whereſoever thou goeſt thou art Maſter of more* Arabick *than the Muſti of* Aleppo!

But our good Friend Mr. *Seldon* was pleaſed to rob us of another conſiderable Part of his Time

Time in laying an [7] Obligation upon him to tranſlate *Eutychius* his Annals, purely to gratify his own Vanity; becauſe that was the Author he had unhappily pitched upon, from whom to raiſe an Argument of the Equality of Biſhops and Preſbyters from the Foundation of the Church of *Alexandria*, the firſt Patriarch of which was it ſeems a *Cobler* ordained by St. *Mark*, to whom were joined Twelve more Preſbyters (no doubt the firſt Converts that the Apoſtle made) out of whom was to be choſen a ſucceeding Patriarch upon the Demiſe of the Cobler.

Now purely for the ſake of this Sneer upon our Eſtabliſhed Epiſcopal Church and Clergy, did this great Scholar and Patron of Learning (whom, if we had any Gall, we have more reaſon ſtill to hate than deſpiſe) employ ſo much of this Learned Man's Time about the tranſlating a Book in it ſelf good for little or nothing; and which, if it had been never ſo good, ought to have been publiſhed only in the Original, becauſe of the Eaſineſs of the Language.

I know, Gentlemen, that you do not think this a Digreſſion, for you are very well appriſed

[7] Dr. *Pocock* in the Title Page calls him *Choragus*, which was interpreted by ſome, as if the meaning of it had been becauſe Mr. *Selden* had tranſlated the beginning of it firſt (though with very bad Succeſs.) But the Truth of it is, that Mr. *Selden* was at the Charges of it. If I be not miſtaken, I had that Information from one of *Ravius*'s Epiſtles, who was better acquainted with the Circumſtances.

that

that all this while I am only bewailing the want of thoſe Helps that ſhould have made not only our preſent Hiſtory, but all our future Undertakings more compleat, and juſtly complaining of thoſe that have robbed us of them. Give me Leave to ſhed one Tear upon the Tomb of that eminent Perſon (whom, if Dr. *Pocock* himſelf was alive, he would allow to be the only one qualified both by his Age, Inclination, Capacity, Learning and plentiful Circumſtances, to receive from his Hand that ſhining Lamp that he had held to us before;) the Glory of our *Britiſh* Iſlands, the incomparable Mr. *Guiſe* of *All-Souls* College in *Oxford*; extinguiſhed in the Flower of his Youth; excellent in all manner of Learning, Oriental eſpecially, whoſe Memory I never recollect, nor whoſe Interpretations of nice Paſſages of the *Arabick* Authors, eſpecially Poets, which frequently occur in ſome of Dr. *Huntington*'s Manuſcrips, I never read without the greateſt Concern. But,

> [2] *Si largitate ſumptibuſque funerum*
> *Mæror levari poſſet, et Manes pios*
> *Hilum juvarent lachrymæ viventium:*
> *Utroque grati fungeremur munere,*
> *Cæloque moles æqua ſurgeret, gravem*
> *Teſtata curam, nec modus fletu foret.*

[2] *Baudii* Epiſt. LXXIV. Centuria I.

Sed

Sed copiis luxuque veſano nihil
Sedatur imo pectori infixus dolor.
Nec fas piumque flere felices, quibus
Æterna vita luce functis obtigit.

Could coſtly Funerals mitigate our Grief,
Or give departed Souls the leaſt Relief;
Nought ſhould be wanting; Tears ſhould ſwell our Eyes;
To Heaven it ſelf the Monument ſhould riſe,
Witneſs of our Concern: No Term of Years
Should ſtop the Current of our flowing Tears.
But Coſt and vain Expence can't eaſe our Pains,
Deep in our Breaſt the ſtubborn Grief remains.
Nor is it Reaſon to lament the Bleſt,
Who, fled from hence, enjoy Eternal Reſt.

The Sorrow of thoſe that ſurvive will neither adminiſter Conſolation, nor repair our Loſs. But if the moſt diſconſolate Mothers receive Comfort after the Loſs of their deareſt Firſtborn upon the Proſpect of a freſh Offspring; we have no reaſon to deſpair but if ſome few of thoſe many flouriſhing Genius's, with which both our Univerſities abound, were trained up to thoſe Studies with due Encouragement; ſome to cultivate them at home; others to be ſent abroad, we might reſtore the Glory of Oriental Learning to our *Britiſh* Iſlands (wherein to my certain Knowledge we have never yet been exceed-

ed

ed abroad) and make our ſelves amends, at leaſt in a great meaſure, for the Loſs of thoſe worthy Perſons whom we ſo juſtly, ſo ſincerely bewail.

But this we leave to the Wiſdom of our Superiors: I could not paſs by theſe Great Men without paying them this due Reſpect; now I return to my Apology.

I have not been wanting to my ſelf in making uſe of the Learned Labours of *Monſieur D'Herbelot*; whoſe *Bibliotheque Orientale* deſerves the higheſt Eſteem from all that have any true Taſte of Oriental Learning. After I had made my Collections I found him ſo accurate in the Life of *Ali*, (as there was good reaſon, he being the moſt conſiderable Perſon by much next to *Mahomet*) that I choſe rather ſometimes to tranſcribe him Paragraph by Paragraph, than to make what was well done before worſe, by affecting to make it my own.

To him I owe whatſoever is quoted from the *Perſian* Authors. How often have I endeavoured to perfect my ſelf in that eaſy and delicate Language, but my malignant and envious Stars ſtill fruſtrated my Attemps; but they ſhall ſooner alter their Courſes than extinguiſh my Reſolution of quenching that Thirſt which the little Taſte I have had of it, hath already excited.

I am as yet deſtitute of *Turkiſh*; which I ſhould not be ſo much concerned at, were it not for five Volumes in that Language in our Publick Library, which I behold with Delight and Concern at the ſame time: With Delight, becauſe they are ours, and ſo not to be deſpaired of: With Concern, becauſe I do not underſtand them. They are a Tranſlation of the great *Tábari*, who is the *Livy* of the *Arabians*; the very Parent of their Hiſtory, and as far as I could find by Enquiry given over for loſt in *Arabick*. I formerly enquired of my Predeceſſor Dr. *Luke* concerning him, who ſaid he had never met with him in the *Eaſt*, and that he was to be deſpaired of in *Arabick*: *Monſieur D'Herbelot* ſays the ſame. And there is this good Reaſon for it, that this being the Standard of their Hiſtory, and upon that account at firſt tranſlated out of *Arabick* into *Turkiſh*, the Value of the *Arabick* Copy muſt of neceſſity ſink by Degrees in all thoſe Territories where *Turkiſh* is better underſtood than *Arabick*; for it would not be worth the Bookſeller's while to be at the Charge of tranſcribing it. However that we may not imagine it loſt becauſe of its Scarcity, I luckily found a Piece of it in *Folio* amongſt Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Manuſcripts (pity it is imperfect) accurately written with all the Points, and no doubt for the uſe of ſome great Perſon, without the Aſſiſtance

of which Copy I muſt oftentimes have been left in the Dark.

But had I not been deſtitute of theſe Aſſiſtances; had I not been forced to ſnatch every thing that I have as it were out of the Fire; our *Saracen Hiſtory* ſhould have been uſhered into the World after a different manner. Now, though, Gentlemen, I pay you a very particular Reſpect, yet you will pardon me if I chooſe rather to point out my own Deficiences than leave them to you to find out after me, leaſt, notwithſtanding your Candour, ſomething ſhould be aſcribed to my Lazineſs or Negligence that ought more juſtly to be attributed to the Influence of inexorable Neceſſity. Wherefore, in the firſt Place, could I have been Maſter of my own Time and Circumſtances, I would never have publiſhed any thing of this Kind at all, till I had perfectly finiſhed the firſt Part of it according to the natural Diviſion to which the Circumſtances of the *Saracen* Empire directed the *Arabian* Hiſtorians of Courſe: That is, from the time of *Mahomet*'s Birth to the Ruin of the Houſe of *Ommiyah* by that of *Abbàs*, which was entirely effected in that Part of the Year of the *Hegirah* One Hundred and Thirty Two, which anſwers to Part of the Year of our Lord Seven Hundred and Fifty. Which Period would have included ſeveral other Conqueſts beſides that of *Spain*.

I mention the Life *MAHOMET* becauſe it is the Foundation of all our Hiſtory; and though what hath been written of it by the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Prideaux* is ſufficient to give a general *Idea* of the Man and his Pretenſions, and admirably accommodated to his principal Deſign of ſhewing the Nature of an Impoſture; yet there are a great many very uſeful Memoirs of him left behind, which would tend very much to the Illuſtration of the ſucceeding Hiſtory, as well as the Cuſtoms of thoſe Times wherein he flouriſhed. In the next Place, whereas my firſt Volume bears the Title of the *Saracens Conqueſt of* Syria, Perſia *and Ægypt*; though it contains the Times of them all, yet the Particulars chiefly relate to *Syria*, the reſt being ſupplied out of the ſhort printed *Epitomes* of *Eutychius*, *Elmakin* and *Abu'lpharagius* for want of longer Time at *Oxford*; from whence it comes to paſs that the Life of *Othman*, whoſe Reign was twelve Years, is but about a ſixth Part of the length of that of *Abubeker*; who reigned but two: Though it cannot be denied that it would be much better allowed both in their Hiſtorians and in us to be a little more particular in the *Accounts of Syria*, *Paleſtine* and *Ægypt*, ſo venerable in all our Antiquity, than in thoſe of other remote Countries, of the Succeſſion of who Princes we have no certain Account, and

of which we are hardly able to aſcertain the Borders.

To have rendered the Work compleat in its kind; not only an accurate Map ought to have been made of the Countries, but Geographical Deſcriptions of the moſt eminent Places out of their own Authors. The Ancient Tribes of the *Arabians* ſhould have been fixed in their proper Habitations in a Map of *Arabia* made for the ſame Purpoſe.

But theſe were things rather to be deſired than hoped for; and if I had ſtaid till I could have got all this Preparation, I muſt never have publiſhed any of it at all as long as I had lived. The Ancients oftentimes thought a Life well ſpent in poliſhing one ſingle Book; and certainly were very much in the Right of it, if (as moſt certainly they did) they intended to perpetuate their Memories to Poſterity, and eke out periſhing Mortality with an Addition of Glory. We can no ſooner propoſe any thing though it requires never ſo much Care and Application, but we are daily importuned to know when it is to come out. This is our Comfort, that the Ancients are in their Graves, and though we can, when we find Leiſure, read their Books, they ſhall never ariſe from the Dead to read ours.

But neither is the Modern Taſte always ſo low; (that we may not affectedly attribute eve-

ry

ry thing to the Ancients) Monſieur *Petis de la Croix*, that famous Oriental Interpreter to the late *Lewis* XIV. of *France*, when commanded by the great *Colbert* to write the Life of *Jenkiz-Chan*, thought not ten Years time too much to employ about it, as his Son acknowledges in the Preface; though he neither wanted Books, Leiſure, Abilities nor Encouragement. It is not only the following ſuch Authors as have made their buſineſs to write the Lives of ſuch or ſuch Princes that is ſufficient; but it is alſo neceſſary to gather up the ſcattered Remains that occur in other Hiſtorians; in Commentators upon the *Alcoran*; in the Scholiaſts of their Poets; in their Medals, Inſcriptions and Lexicographers. The Hiſtorian muſt alſo trace the Originals of Cuſtoms, Sirnames, Tribes and the like; and in a word, muſt diſpoſe all the Materials with ſuch Judgment that every part may fall naturally into its proper place, and add a Luſtre to the whole.

But my unhappy Condition hath always been widely different from any thing that could admit of ſuch an Exactneſs. Fortune ſeems only to have given me a Taſte of it out of Spight, on Purpoſe that I might regret the Loſs of it. Though perhaps I may accuſe her wrongfully for befriending me with an Excuſe for thoſe Blemiſhes that would have admitted of none had

I been furniſhed with all thoſe Aſſiſtances and Advantages, the want of which I now bewail. If that was her Meaning, ſhe hath been very tender of my Reputation indeed, and reſolved that my Adverſaries ſhould have very little Reaſon to accuſe me of the Loſs of Time. The firſt Volume coſt me two Journeys to *Oxford*, each of them of ſix Weeks only, (incluſive of the Delays upon the Road, and the Difficulty of finding the Books without any other Guide than the Catalogue, not always infallible.) But my chief Buſineſs lying then in [9] one Author, it was ſo much the eaſier to make a quick Diſpatch; becauſe it is of no ſmall Moment in Affairs of this Nature to be once well acquainted with the Hand of the Manuſcript, and the Stile of the Author.

But in my Second Undertaking I found a quite different Appearance of things in more reſpects than one. Either my Domeſtick Affairs were grown much worſe, or I leſs able to bear them, or, what is moſt probable, both. What made me eaſy as to my Journey and Charges during my Abſence, was the Liberality of the Worſhipful *Thomas Freke*, of *Hannington*, *Wilts*, Eſq; to whom the World is indebted for whatſoever is performed at preſent in this Second Volume; I mean with Regard to the Expences

[9] *Alwâkidi.*

of

of it: Which ſtill would not have anſwered the End if I had not been indulged all poſſible Conveniencies of Study, firſt by the Favour of my much Honoured Friend, the incomparable Dr. *Halley*, who, with the Conſent of his Learned Colleague Dr. *Keil*, allowed me the Keys of the *Savilian* Study; and in the next Place by the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Hudſon*, chief Library-Keeper of the *Bodleian*; who according to his wonted Humanity permitted me to take out of the Library whatſoever Books were for my purpoſe; otherwiſe though I had five Months Time, much could not have been done, conſidering the Variety and Difficulty of the Manuſcripts; beſides that I was forced to take the Advantage of the Slumbers of my Cares, that never ſlept when I was awake; and if they did not inceſſantly interrupt my Studies, were ſure to ſucceed them with no leſs Conſtancy than Night doth the Day. Though it would be the height of Ingratitude in me not to acknowledge that they were daily alleviated by the Favours and Courteſies which I received from Perſons of the greateſt Dignity and Merit in that Noble Univerſity; too numerous to be all here inſerted, and all too worthy (ſhould I mention any one of them) to be omitted.

Some ſuch Apology as this will always be neceſſary for him that undertakes a Work of

this Nature upon his own bottom without proper Encouragement. If any one ſhould pertly aſk me, *Why then do you trouble the World with things that you are not able to bring to Perfection?* Let them take this Anſwer of one of our famous *Arabian* Authors; *What cannot totally be known, ought not to be totally neglected; for the Knowledge of a Part is better than the Ignorance of the Whole.*

[7] *Abu'lpheda*, Præf. ad Geograph.

MSS.

MSS. *Authors made uſe of in this Hiſtory.*	*Their Places in the* Bodleian *Library.*
THE Firſt Volume of *Abu'l-pheda*'s Univerſal Hiſtory.	*Pocock*'s MSS. *Num.* 303.
The Second Volume of the *Alcámil*, or *Univerſal Hiſtory*, by *Ebno'l Athir*.	*ibid. Num.* 137.
The Fifth Volume of the ſame.	*ibid. Num.* 103.
Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem*.	*ibid. Num.* 362.
The Seventh Volume of the Memorial of *Ebn Hamdoun*, containing a Collection of Speeches, Epiſtles, and Meſſages.	*ibid. Num.* 328.
Ebn Chalecan's Hiſtory of the Deaths of Great Men. Two Volumes Folio.	*ibid. Num.* 335, 336.
—— Another Copy of the ſame, in five Volumes Folio.	*Huntington*'s MSS. *Num.* 58. & ſeq.
The Sentences of *ALI*.	*ibid. Num.* 431.
Hiſtory of the Caliphs from the latter end of *Ali*'s Government to the Reign of *Merwàn* the Son of *Alhakem*. (Imperfect and Anonymous, but *Optimæ Notæ*.)	*ibid. Num.* 495.
An Imperfect Hiſtorian (and therefore Anonymous,) in Folio, with Points diligently written, and of ſingular Uſe in this Hiſtory.	*Laud*'s MSS. *Num.* 161. A.
The Second Volume of *Altabari*'s Great Hiſtory.	*ibid. Num. N.* 55. 124.
Yacutus Hamawaeys his Geography, (unleſs my Conjecture fails me) there are two Volumes wanting of five, *viz.* the firſt and the third.	*Armachan.* MS. NS. 150, 151, 152,

A Chronological Table for 51 Years.

Years of the Julian Period.	Years of Christ, reckoning from the first day of January.	Years of the Hegirah or Flight of Mahomet, with the days of the Month on which they begin in the Solar Year.	Grecian Emperors.	Saracenical Caliphs.
5368	655	35. *July* 10	CONSTANS 14	ALI.
9	656	36. *Jun.* 29	*Son of* Conſtantine 15	
5370	657	37. *Jun.* 18	16	
1	658	38. *Jun.* 8	17	
2	659	39. *May* 28	18	
3	660	40. *May* 16	19	HASAN.
4	661	41. *May* 6	20	MOAWIYAH I.
5375	662	42. *April* 25	21	
6	663	43. *April* 14	22	
7	664	44. *April* 3	23	
8	665	45. *March* 23	24	
9	666	46. *March* 13	25	
5380	667	47. *March* 2	26	
1	668	48. *Feb.* 19	27	
2	669	49. *Feb.* 8	CONSTAN- 1	
3	670	50. *Jan.* 28	TINUS 2	
4	671	51. *Jan.* 17	3	
5385	672	52. *Jan.* 7 53. *Dec.* 26	4	
6	673	54. *Dec.* 15	5	
7	674	55. *Dec.* 5	6	
8	675	56. *Nov.* 24	7	
9	676	57. *Nov.* 13	8	
5390	677	58. *Nov.* 2	9	
1	678	59. *Oct.* 22	10	
2	679	60. *Oct.* 12	11	YEZID I.
3	680	61. *Sept.* 30	12	
4	681	62. *Sept.* 19	13	
5395	682	63. *Sept.* 9	14	
6	683	64. *Aug.* 29	15	MOAWIY-
7	684	65. *Aug.* 17	16	AH II.
8	685	66. *Aug.* 7	JUSTINIA- 17	
9	686	67. *July* 27	NUS II. 2	
5400	687	68. *July* 17	3	
1	688	69. *July* 5	4	
2	689	70. *Jun.* 24	5	
3	690	71. *Jun.* 14	6	
4	691	72. *Jun.* 3	7	

A Chronological Table for 35 Years.

Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

Y. H.	
35	*Moawiyah*, *Ayesha*, *Telha* and *Zobeir* make a power Oppoſition againſt
36	*Ali*.
37	The Battles at *Seffein* between *Ali* and *Moawiyah*. *Amrou* over-reacheth
38	his Colleague *Abu Muſa* in the Arbitration between *Ali* and *Moawiyah*.
39	
40	*Ali* and *Moawiyah* are both aſſaſſinated. *Ali* dies. *Moawiyah* narrowly
41	eſcapeth. *Huſan* reſigns the Government to *Moawiyah*.
42	
43	*Amrou Ebno'l Aas* the famous Conqueror and Lieutenant of *Ægypt* dies.
44	
45	*Moawiyah* owns *Ziyàd* the Son of *Somyah* for his Brother; and makes him Gover-
46	nour of the *Eaſtern* Provinces. *Zeid*, a Man of ſingular Learning and Modeſty, dies.
47	
48	
49	*Conſtantinople* beſieged ſeven Years. *Abu Iyub* killed there.
50	
51	
52	*Ziyàd*, the Son of *Somyah*, dies.
53	
54	*Moawiyah* attempting to remove *Mahomet*'s Pulpit from *Medinah* to
55	*Damaſcus*, they that ſet about it are terrified by an Eclipſe.
56	*Moawiyah* makes the Government Hereditary; by obliging the Provin-
57	ces to acknowledge his Son *Yezid* his lawful Heir and Succeſſor.
58	
59	*Moawiyah* dies. *Hoſein* the Son of *Ali* ſets up for the Government, and marcheth from
60	*Meccah* towards *Cufah*.
61	He is killed upon the Plains of *Kerbelah*. After his Deceaſe *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*
62	declares openly againſt *Yezid* at *Medinah*. *Medinah* beſieged. (*Anno* 64.)
63	And taken.
64	*Meccah* beſieged. The Siege raiſed upon the News of *Yezid*'s Death.
65	*Solyman*, the Son of *Sorad*, encourages *Ali*'s Party to revenge the Death
66	of *Hoſein*. He is killed, and *Almochtar* makes his Appearance, *Anno* 65.
67	He revengeth *Hoſein*'s Death. *Almochtar* is killed by *Muſàb*.
68	
69	*Abdòlmélick* marches againſt *Muſàb*, and kills him.
70	
71	*Muſàb* killed by *Abdòlmélick*.
72	The Sect of the *Azarakites* raiſe a Commotion in the *Eaſt*.

A Chronological Table for 51 Years.

Years of the Julian Period.	Years of Chriſt, reckoning from the firſt day of January.	Years of the Hegirah or Flight of Mahomet, with the Days of the Month on which they begin in the Solar Year.	Grecian Emperors.	Saracenical Caliphs.
5405	692	73. *May* 22	8	
6	693	74. *May* 12	9	
7	694	75. *May* 1	LEONTIUS 10	
8	695	76. *April* 21	PATRICIUS. 2	
9	696	77. *April* 9	3	
5410	697	78. *March* 29	4	
1	698	79. *March* 19	TIBERIUS 1	
2	699	80. *March* 8	Apſimarus. 2	
3	700	81. *Feb.* 25	3	
4	701	82. *Feb.* 14	4	
5415	702	83. *Feb.* 3	5	
6	703	84. *Jan.* 23	6	
7	704	85. *Jan.* 13	7	
8	705	86. *Jan.* 1	JUSTINIAN 1 *Reſtored.*	

A Chronological Table for 51 *Years.*

Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

Y. H.	
73	*Abdollah*, the Son of *Zobeir*, is beſieged in *Meccah*, and killed.
74	*Hejage* made Governour of *Irak*, *Choraſan*, and *Sigiſtan*.
75	
76	*Shebib* riſes againſt *Hejage*.
77	He is killed.
78	
79	
80	
81	*Mohammed*, the Son of *Haniphiyah*, dies.
82	*Abdorrahman* rebells againſt *Hejage*. Kills himſelf by a Fall from an Houſe.
83	
84	
85	
86	*Abdolmélick* dies.

For the greater Illuſtration of the *Mahometan* Creed and Practice, I thought fit to inſert their Famous Doctor *Algazáli*[1]'s Interpretation of the two Articles of their Faith, *viz. There is no God but God*; Mahomet *is the Apoſtle of God.*

PRaiſe be to God the Creator and Reſtorer of all things: Who does whatſoever he pleaſes, who is Maſter of the Glorious Throne and Mighty Force, and directs his ſincere Servants into the right way and the ſtreight path: Who favoureth them, after their having born Teſtimony to the UNITY, *with the preſervation of their Confeſſions from the darkneſſes of doubt and heſitation: Who directs them to follow his choſen Apoſtle, upon whom be the Bleſſing and Peace of God; and to go after his moſt honourable Companions to whom he hath vouchſafed his aſſiſtance and direction which is revealed to them in his Eſſence and Operations by the Excellencies of his Attributes, to the Knowledge whereof no Man attains but he that hath been taught by hearing. Who maketh known to them that as touching his Eſſence, he is* ONE, *who hath no Partner: Singular, without any thing like him. Uniform, having no Contrary:*

[1] Vide *Pocock* Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum. *p.* 274.

Se-

Separate, having no Equal. That he is Ancient, having no Firſt: Eternal, having no Beginning; remaining for ever, having no End; continuing to Eternity, without any Termination. Who perſiſts, without ceaſing to be; who remains without failing, Who never did ceaſe nor ever ſhall ceaſe; to be deſcribed by Glorious Attributes, nor is ſubject to any decree ſo as to be determined by any preciſe limits or ſet times, but is the Firſt and the Laſt, and is within and without.

* What is not] *And that he, (Glorified be his Name) is not a Body endued with Form, nor a Subſtance circumſcribed with limits or determined by meaſure; neither doth he reſemble Bodies as they are capable of being meaſured or divided. Neither is he a Subſtance, neither do Subſtances exiſt in him, neither is he an Accident, nor do Accidents exiſt in him; but that neither is he like to any of thoſe things that do exiſt, neither is any thing like to him; nor is he terminated by quantity nor comprehended in bounds, nor circumſcribed by the differences of Situation nor contained in the Heavens: But that he ſits upon the Throne, after that manner which he himſelf hath deſcribed, and in that ſame ſenſe which he himſelf means, which is a ſitting that is far removed from any notion of Contact, or reſting upon, or local Situation; but both the Throne it ſelf, and whatſoever is upon it are ſuſtained by the goodneſs of his*

Power

Power, and are ſubject to the graſp of his hand. But he is above the Throne and above all things even to the utmoſt ends of the Earth; but ſo above as at the ſame time not to be a whit nearer the Throne and the Heaven: ſince he is exalted by [infinite] degrees above the Throne no leſs than he is exalted above the Earth, and at the ſame time is near to every thing that hath a being; nay, † nearer to Men than their Jugular veins, and is witneſs to every thing: *Though his nearneſs is not like the nearneſs of Bodies, as neither is his Eſſence like the Eſſence of Bodies. Neither doth he exiſt in any thing, neither doth any thing exiſt in him, but that he is too high to be contained in any Place, and too Holy to be determined by Time; for he was before Time and Place were Created, and is after the ſame manner as he always was. And that he is diſtinct from the Creatures by his Attributes, neither is there any thing beſides himſelf in his Eſſence, nor is his Eſſence in any other beſides him. And that he is too Holy to be Subject to Change, or any local Motion, neither do any Accidents dwell in him nor any Contingencies befall him, but he abides through all Generations with his Glorious Attributes, free from all danger of diſſolution. And that as to the Attributes of his Perfection, he wants no Addition of Perfection. And that as to his Being, he is known to Exiſt by*

† *Alcoran.*

the

the Apprehenſion of the Underſtanding; and ſeen as he is by Ocular Intuition out of his Mercy and Grace to the Holy in the Eternal Manſion, compleating their Joy by the Viſion of his Glorious Preſence.

* His Power.] *And that HE, Praiſed be his Name, is Living, Powerful, Mighty, Ommipotent, not liable to any defect or impotence; who neither Slumbers nor Sleeps, nor is obnoxious to Decay nor Death. To whom belongs the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Might. His is the Dominion, and the Excellency; and the Creation, and the Command thereof. And the Heavens are folded up in his right Hand, and all the Creatures are couched within his graſp. And that his Excellency conſiſts in his Creating and Producing; and his Unity in communicating Exiſtence and Original. He Created Men and their Works, and meaſured out their maintenance and their determined times. Nothing can eſcape his graſp that is poſſible, nor the Viciſſitudes of things get out of the reach of his Power. The Effects of his Power are innumerable, and the Objects of his Knowledge Infinite.*

* His Knowledge.] *And that HE, Praiſed be his Name, knows all things that can be underſtood, and comprehends whatſoever paſſes; from the Extremities of the Earth to the Higheſt Heavens; ſo that the weight of a* Piſmire *ſhould not eſcape him either in Earth or Heaven; but he*

would know the creeping of the black Piſmire *in the dark Night upon the hard Stone, and apprehend the Motion of an Atom in the open Air; and knows what is ſecret and conceals it; and views the Conceptions of the minds, and the Motions of the thoughts and the inmoſt receſſes of Secrets by a knowledge Ancient, Eternal, that never ceaſed to be his Attribute from Eternal Eternity. Not by a New Knowledge, ſuperadded to his Eſſence, either Inhering or Adventitious.*

* His Will.] *And that HE, Praiſed be his Name, doth WILL thoſe things to be that are, and diſpoſeth of all Accidents, and that there paſſes nothing in the Empire, nor the Kingdom, neither little nor much, nor ſmall nor great, nor good nor Evil, nor profitable nor hurtful, nor Faith nor Infidelity, nor Knowledge nor Ignorance, nor Proſperity nor Adverſity, nor Increaſe nor Decreaſe, nor Obedience nor Rebellion, but by his determinate Counſel and Decree, and his definitive Sentence, and Will. Nor doth the wink of him that ſeeth, nor the Stricture of him that thinketh exceed the bounds of his Will; but that it is HE who gave all things their Beginning, he is the Creator and Reſtorer, the ſole Operator of what he pleaſes, there is no reverſing his Decree nor delaying what he hath determined, nor is there any Refuge to Man from his Rebellion againſt him, but only his Help and Mercy; nor hath any Man*

any

any Power to perform any Duty towards him, but through his Love and Will: Though Men and Genius's, *Angels and Devils ſhould conſpire together either to put one ſingle Atom in Motion or cauſe it to ceaſe its Motion without his Will and Approbation, they would not be able to do it: And that his Will ſubſiſts in his Eſſence amongſt the reſt of his Attributes, and was from Eternity one of his Eternal Attributes; by which he willed from Eternity the Exiſtence of thoſe things that he had decreed, which were produced in their proper ſeaſons according to his Eternal Will; without any BEFORE or AFTER, but as they were agreeable to his Knowledge and Will. Not by Methodizing of thoughts, nor waiting for a proper time; for which reaſon one thing doth not hinder him from another.*

* His Hearing and Sight.] *And that HE, Praiſed be his Name, is HEARING and SEEING, and heareth and ſeeth; No* [a] *Audible Object, how ſtill ſoever, eſcapeth his Hearing; nor is any thing viſible ſo ſmall as to eſcape his Sight. For Diſtance is no Hindrance to his Hearing, nor Darkneſs to his Sight: He ſees without Apple of the Eye or Eye-Lids; and hears without any Paſſage or Ear; as he knoweth without*

[a] We are not to underſtand thoſe Words *Audible, Viſible*, as if it were neceſſary it ſhould be ſo to us, but in its own Nature.

a Heart, and performs his Actions without the Aſſiſtance of any Corporeal Limb; and creates without any Inſtrument; for his Attributes (or Properties) are not like thoſe of Men any more than his Eſſence is like theirs.

* His Word.] *Furthermore, that he doth ſpeak, command, forbid, promiſe and threaten by an Eternal Ancient Word ſubſiſting in his Eſſence: Neither is it like to the Word of the Creatures, nor doth it conſiſt in a Voice ariſing from the Commotion of the Air and the Colliſion of Bodies, nor Letters which are ſeparated by the joyning together of the Lips or the Motion of the Tongue. And that the* Alcoran, *the* Law, *the* Goſpel *and the* Pſalter, *are Books ſent down by him to his Apoſtles; and that the* Alcoran *indeed is read with Tongues, written in Books, and kept in Hearts; ſubſiſting in the Eſſence of God, neither doth it become liable to Separation and Diviſion whilſt it is transferred into the Hearts and the Papers. Alſo that* Moſes *did hear the Word of God without Voice or Letter, even as the Saints behold the Eſſence of God without Subſtance or Accident. And that ſince theſe are his Attributes, He liveth and knoweth, is powerful and willeth and operateth, and ſeeth and ſpeaketh, by Life and Knowledge, and Will and Hearing, and Sight and Word, not by his ſimple Eſſence.*

* His Works.] *And that HE, Praiſed be his Name, exiſts after ſuch a manner that nothing beſides*

beſides him hath any Being but what is produced by his Work, and floweth from his Juſtice after the Beſt, moſt Excellent, moſt Perfect and moſt Juſt Manner, and that he is wiſe in his Works, and juſt in his Decrees: Nor is his Juſtice to be compared with the Juſtice of Men, becauſe a Man may be ſuſpected of Acting unjuſtly by invading the Poſſeſſion of another; But no Injuſtice can be conceived of God, who can find nothing belonging to any other beſides himſelf, ſo as if any Injury could be imputed to him as concerning himſelf with things not appertaining to him; but all things, He only excepted, Genius's, Men, the Devil, Angels, Heaven, Earth, Animals, Plants, Subſtance, Accident, Intelligible, Senſible, were all created anew; and that he created them by his Power after meer Privation, and brought them into Light when they were nothing at all, but he alone exiſted from Eternity, neither was there any other with him. Now he produced the Creatures anew for the Manifeſtation of his Power, and his Precedent Will, and the Confirmation of his Word which was true from all Eternity, not that he ſtood in need of them, nor wanted them: And that he manifeſtly declared his Glory in Creating, and Producing, and Commanding, without being under any Obligation, but out of Neceſſity; ſinte Loving-Kindneſs, and ſhewing Favour and Grace and Beneficence, belong to him; whereas it is in his

Power

Power to pour forth upon Men Variety of Torments, and afflict them with various Kinds of Sorrows and Diſeaſes, which if he ſhould do, it would be Juſtice in him, not reproachful nor Injuſtice. And that he rewards thoſe that worſhip him for their Obedience upon the account of his Promiſe and Beneficence not of Merit nor Neceſſity, ſince there is nothing which he can be tied to perform, nor can any Injuſtice be feigned in him, nor can he be under any Obligation to any Perſon whatſoever. But that the Creatures are obliged to ſerve him ariſeth from his having declared by the Tongues of the Prophets that it was due to him from them: Not by the ſimple Dictate of the Underſtanding, but that he ſent them Meſſengers whoſe Veracity he had proved by manifeſt Miracles, who brought down from him to Men Commands and Promiſes and Threats, whereby Men are therefore obliged to give Credit to them in thoſe things that they relate.

The Signification of the Second Article.] *That is the* [3] *Teſtimony concerning the Apoſtle. And that HE, Moſt High, ſent* Mahomet *the illiterate Prophet of the Family of the* Koreiſh *to deliver his Meſſage to all the* Arabians *and* Barbarians, *and* Genii *and Men; and abrogated by his Religion all other Religions except thoſe things which he confirmed: and gave him the Preference over all the reſt of the Prophets, and made him*

[3] *Mahomet* is the Apoſtle of God.

Lord

Lord over all Mortal Men. Neither would he have the Faith be compleated by the Teſtimony of the UNITY, that is the ſaying there is but ONE GOD, without the Addition of the Teſtimony of the Apoſtle, by ſaying Mohammed is the Apoſtle of God. *And he hath made it neceſſary to Men to give Credit to him in thoſe things which he hath related both with regard to this preſent World, and the Life to come. For a Man's Faith is not accepted till he is fully perſuaded of thoſe things which he hath affirmed ſhall be after Death. The firſt of which is the Examination of* Munkir *and* Nakir, *who are two Perſons of a moſt terrible and horrible Aſpect that ſhall ſet* [every] *Man upright in his Grave, conſiſting both of Soul and Body, and aſk him concerning the UNITY and the* Miſſion [*of the Apoſtle*] *ſaying, Who is thy Lord? And what is thy Religion? And who is thy Prophet? And that theſe are the Searchers of the Grave, and their Examination the firſt Tryal after Death: And that he believe the Torment of the Sepulchre, and that it is Due, and Right and Juſt both upon the Body and the Soul according to his Will.*

He ſhall alſo Believe in the Balance with two Scales and a Beam that ſhall equal the Extent of the Heavens and the Earth; wherein the Works [*of Men*] *ſhall be weighed by the Power of God; at which time Weights not heaver than Atoms or Muſtard-Seeds ſhall be brought out that things may*

may be balanced with the utmoſt Exactneſs, and perfect Juſtice adminiſtered. Then the Books of the good Works, beautiful to behold, ſhall be caſt into the Balance of Light, by which the Balance ſhall be depreſſed according to their Degrees with God, out of the Favour of God. But the Books of evil Deeds, naſty to look upon, ſhall be caſt into the Balance of Darknēſs, with which the Scale ſhall lightly aſcend by the Juſtice of the moſt High God.

He muſt alſo believe that there is a real way, which is a Body extended over the middle of Hell, ſharper than a Sword, and finer than an Hair, upon which the Feet of the Infidels ſhall ſlip by the Decree of God, ſo as they ſhall fall into Hell-Fire, whilſt the Feet of the Faithful ſhall remain firm, and they ſhall be conducted into the Eternal Habitation.

He ſhall alſo believe the Pond where they go down to be watered, that is the Pond of Mahomet, *upon whom be the Bleſſing and Peace of God, out of which the Faithful drink before they enter into Paradiſe after they have paſſed over that way, and out of which whoſoever drinketh once ſhall thirſt no more for ever. Its Breadth is a Months Journey, it is whiter than Milk, and ſweeter than Honey. Round about it ſtand Cups as innumerable as the Stars, and it hath two Canals whereby the Water of the* [*River*] Cauthar *is derived into it.*

He

He ſhall alſo believe the [*laſt*] *Account, in which Men ſhall be divided into thoſe that ſhall be reckoned withal with the utmoſt Strictneſs, and thoſe that ſhall be dealt withal more favourably, and thoſe that ſhall be admitted into Paradiſe without any manner of Examination at all, namely thoſe whom God ſhall cauſe to approach near to himſelf. And that God will aſk any of his Apoſtles, whomſoever he ſhall pleaſe, concerning their Miſſion, and whomſoever he ſhall pleaſe of the Unbelievers what was the Reaſon why they accuſed thoſe that were ſent to them of Lying; He will alſo examine the Hereticks concerning Tradition, and the Faithful concerning their good Works.*

He ſhall alſo believe that they that confeſs one God ſhall at length go out of the Fire after they have underwent the Puniſhment due to their Sins, ſo that by the favourable Mercy of God no Perſon ſhall remain in Hell who acknowledged the Unity of the Godhead.

Alſo the Interceſſion of the Prophets, next of the Doctors, then of the Martyrs, and finally of the reſt of the Faithful (*that is, every one according to his Excellency and Degree*) *and that whoſoever remain of the Faithful beſides theſe, and have no Interceſſor, ſhall go out by the Grace of God; neither ſhall any one of the Faithful remain for ever in Hell, but ſhall go out from thence though he had but ſo much Faith in his Heart as the Weight of an Atom.*

It is alſo neceſſary that he acknowledge the Excellency of the Companions [*of* Mahomet] *and their Degrees; and that the moſt Excellent of Men next to* Mahomet *is* Abubeker, *then* Omar, *then* Othman, *and then* Ali, *and that he entertain a good Opinion of all the Companions, and celebrate their Memories, according as God and his Apoſtle hath celebrated them all. And all theſe things are received by Tradition, and evinced by evident Tokens, and he that confeſſeth all theſe things, and ſurely believeth them, is to be reckoned amongſt the Number of thoſe that embrace Truth, and of the Congregation of thoſe that walk in the received way, ſeparated from the Congregation of thoſe that err, and the Company of Hereticks.*

[4] Theſe are the things that every one is obliged to believe and confeſs that would be accounted worthy of the Name of a *Muſleman*, and that according to the literal Meaning of the Words, not as they may be made capable of any ſounder Senſe. According to the ſame Author of this Expoſition, who ſays that, *Some pretending to go deeper, have put an Interpretation upon thoſe things that are delivered concerning the World to come, as the* Balance *and the* Way *and ſome other things beſides, but it is Hereſy.*

[4] Vid. *Pocock*, p. 222. Spec. Hiſt. *Arab.*

HISTORY

HISTORY OF THE SARACENS.

ALI. An. Heg. 35. cœpit Jul. 10 A.C. 655.

IT is very well worth obſerving in the Beginning of this Hiſtory, that the ſeeming Agreement of the *Arabians* in the Profeſſion of the ſame Religion, had not ſufficient Influence upon them to extinguiſh old Grudges and Family Quarrels. *Telha* and *Azzobéir*, two leading Men amongſt them, and *Ayeſha*, *Mahomet*'s youngeſt and beſt beloved Wife, were *Ali*'s irreconcilable and implacable Enemies. However, *Ali* having married *Phatemah*, Mahomet's Daughter, the *Arabians*, there being no Male-Iſſue remaining of their Prophet, favoured his Intereſt, deſirous of being governed by a Succeſſion of *Caliphs* deſcended from the Loyns of *Mahomet*. *Telha* and *Azzobéir* were ſo well appriſed of this, that they thought it Prudence to diſſemble their Hatred ſo far, that the very ſame Day on which *Othman* was murdered, they took

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took the Oath of Allegiance to *Ali*, with a ſtedfaſt Reſolution of breaking it, as ſoon as a favourable Opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf. The Caſe was, that the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Provinces, who had come together from all Quarters of the Empire, from *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Meſopotamia*, *Perſia* and *Arabia*, upon the Account of the Complaints made againſt *Othman*, whereof we have given an Account in the former Volume, were reſolved not to be kept in Suſpence, but to know whom they were to depend upon for their Emperor: [8] And threatned all the Candidates with Death if they did not ſpeedily fix upon ſome one or other. Some of the *Baſſorians* favoured *Telha*; the *Cufians*, *Egyptians*, and the greateſt Part of the *Arabians* were for *Ali*. *Zobéir* had a Party of the *Baſorians* in his Intereſt, who threatned him with Death, if he did not either take the Government upon himſelf, or take Care to ſee it conferred upon ſome other Perſon.

In this Confuſion ſeveral of them came to *Ali*, and deſired him to accept of the Government; to which he anſwered, that he had no Need of it himſelf, but had much rather give his Conſent to the Choice of any Perſon they ſhould agree upon. They ſtill inſiſted, that there was none ſo well qualified as he; whether he

[8] *Ebno'l Athir.*

were

ALI. An. Heg. 3 *cæpit Jul.* 1 A. C. 655.

were conſidered with Regard to his Perſonal Accompliſhments, or his near Relation to the Prophet. He replied, that he had much rather ſerve any Perſon, they ſhould think fit to chuſe, in the Capacity of a [4]Vizier, than take the Government upon himſelf. Upon his obſtinate Refuſal, a great many of them of the ſeveral Provinces, who were all well enough ſatisfyed with the Murder of *Othman*,[5] but could not ſo well agree in the Choice of a Succeſſor, perceiving alſo that all thoſe of the Family of *Ommiyah*, of which more hereafter, that had an Opportunity, had withdrawn themſelves, came in a tumultuous Manner to the chief Inhabitants of *Medinah*, and told them, that they were the proper Perſons to determine this Controverſy; adding, that they would allow them one Day to conſider of it, in which Time, if it was not concluded, *Telha*, *Zobéir*, *Ali*, and ſeveral others ſhould be put to the Sword. Upon this they came to *Ali* in the Evening, earneſtly intreating him to conſider the Condition of their Religion; who ſtill declining it, and deſiring them to think of ſome other Perſon, They ſaid, *We adjure thee by God! Doſt not thou conſider in what Condition we are? Doſt thou not conſider the* [6] *Religion? Doſt not thou conſider the Diſtraction of the People?*

[4] *Abu'lpheda.* [5] *Ebno'l Athir.* [6] Arab. *Aliſlám.* So we ſhall render it for the future.

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People? Doſt thou not fear God? Overcome at laſt with theſe pathetical Expoſtulations, he anſwered. *If I comply with you in this, I ſhall deal with you according to the beſt of my Knowledge; and if you excuſe me, there will be no other Difference between you and me but this; that I ſhall be one of the moſt ſubmiſſive and obedient to whomſoever you ſhall ſet over me.* He reſolved not to accept of their Allegiance in private; for they profered to give him their Hands, (the cuſtomary Ceremony then in uſe among them upon ſuch Occaſions) at his own Houſe; but would have it performed publickly at the Moſque, that all Parties might be ſatisfied, and have no juſtifiable Cauſe of Complaint; knowing very well that *Ayeſha*, *Telha*, *Azzobéir* (or *Zobéir*) and the whole Houſe of *Ommiyah*, (of which *Moawiyah*, then *Othman*'s Lieutenant in *Syria*, was Chief,) would never omit the leaſt Opportunity of giving him the utmoſt Diſturbance that lay in their Power. Wherefore in the Morning he went to the Moſque, dreſſed in a thin Cotton Gown tied about him with a Girdle; a coarſe Turbant upon his Head, his Slippers in one Hand, and a Bow in the other inſtead of a walking Staff. *Telha* and *Zobéir* not being preſent they were ſent for, and came and offered him their Hands as a Pledge or Token of their Approbation. *Ali* bad them, if they did

do

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do it, be in good Earneſt, otherwiſe he would give his own Hand to either of them that would accept of the Government, which they both refuſed, and gave him theirs. The Eaſtern Nations are generally addicted to Superſtition, and great Obſervers of *Omens:* When *Telha* offered *Ali* his Hand, which had been very much damaged and broken by ſome Wounds which he had received in the Wars; one that was preſent ſaid; that it was a bad Sign, and that it was like to be but a *lame ſort of a Buſineſs that was begun with a lame Hand.* How far that Preſage of his was fulfilled, will beſt appear from the Peruſal of the remaining Part of the Hiſtory of *Ali*.

[1] Soon after this was over, *Telha* and *Zobéir*, with ſome others of their Party, came to *Ali*, and complained to him of the Murder of *Othman*; inſinuating, that it ought by all Means to be revenged, and profering their Service. Their ſecret Deſign was to take the firſt Opportunity of making a Diſturbance among the People, which they did not in the leaſt queſtion would end infallibly in the Deſtruction of *Ali* and his Party. *Ali* told them, "That he very "well underſtood their Meaning; repreſenting "to them at the ſame Time, how impracticable "an Undertaking it would be to pretend to do

[1] *Ebno'l Athir.* MS. Pocock. N. 137.

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" any thing to ſuch a Number, and of ſuch " conſiderable Force; deſiring them to inform " him, if it were in their Power, what proper " Method they could propoſe to anſwer their " End. They told him, they knew of none. " He ſwore, nor he neither, unleſs it were the " uniting all Parties together, if it ſhould ſo " pleaſe God: Adding, that theſe Diſſentions " had their Foundation laid in the Times of " *Ignorance*; (meaning, that they were ancient " Family Quarrels before *Mahomet*'s Pretence " to Inſpiration) that theſe diſcontented Peo- " ple would ſtill increaſe; *For the Devil never* " *left the Place he had taken Poſſeſſion of, after* " *once he had made a Beginning.* In ſuch an " Affair as this, ſays he one Party will approve " of what you propoſe, a ſecond will be of a- " different Opinion, and a third will diſſent " from both the former: Wherefore conſult a- " mong yourſelves."

Ali in the mean time was very inſtant with the *Coreiſh*, (the moſt noble Tribe of the *Arabians*) walking about from one to the other, and taking all poſſible Opportunities of careſſing them. He did not fail to expreſs the Senſe he entertained of their Excellency, and the dependance of the Welfare of the People upon their Authority: For he was extremely concerned at the Heats and Diviſions which he obſerved among

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among the People, and especially at the sudden Departure of the *Ommiyan* Family. When nothing could be concluded upon, *Telha* and *Zobéir* begged of *Ali*, one of them the Government of *Cufah*, the other of *Basorah*, (both Places of very great Importance, the one situate upon the Eastern Bank of the River *Euphrates*, the other two Miles Westward of the *Tigris*) upon pretence that if any thing extraordinary should happen, they would take Horse at a Minute's warning. [1] He told them that he would consider of that Matter. [2] Though other Historians say, that he put them off with a Compliment, telling them that he had no body about him of equal Capacity with themselves, or so proper to Consult withal in such Emergencies, as such a new established Government was likely to be exposed to: Which Answer of his touched them to the quick; and they knowing that *Ayesha* was at *Meccah*, having gone thither on Pilgrimage whilst *Othman* was besieged, begged leave of him to go thither, which was granted.

[3] As soon as *Ali* was acknowledged *Caliph*, he resolved to take away the Governments and Lieutenancies from all those Persons who had been put in by *Othman* his Predecessor. *Almo-*

[1] *Ebno'l* [illegible]. [2] See Dr. *Herbelot* under the Title *Ali*. [3] *Abulpheda*.

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geirah the Son of *Saïd* adviſed him to forbear a little, at leaſt till he ſhould find himſelf more firmly eſtabliſhed in his Government, which *Ali* did [6] not approve of. The Day after *Almogeirah* made him another Viſit, and told him that he had changed his Opinion, at the ſame time adviſing him to follow his own Way, and proceed according to what he had at firſt propoſed himſelf. In the midſt of this Conference between *Ali* and *Almogeirah*, *Abdollâh* the Son of *Abbas*, (who was at *Meccah* when *Othman* was killed, but upon the Election of *Ali* was newly returned to *Medinah*) chanced to come in, and finding *Ali* and *Almogeirah* together, took Occaſion to enquire of *Ali* what had been the Subject of their Diſcourſe. *Ali* told him that *Almogeirah* had adviſed him to continue *Moawiyah* and the reſt of *Othman*'s Lieutenants in their Places till they ſhould come in of their own Accord, and he was fixed in his Government; which I, added he, not approving, he came and told me to Day that he had altered his Opinion, and that I was in the Right. The Son of *Abbas* told him that *Almogeirah* had given *him good Advice the firſt time, but the laſt was Treachery.* He told him, that he was afraid that all *Syria*,

[6] Dr. *Herbelot* ſays, *Ali ſuivet ſon Conſeil*, *Ali* followed his Counſel. Our Manuſcript ſays otherwiſe, and the Senſe proves it.

over

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over which *Moawiyah* was Lieutenant would fall off from him: That there was no Confidence to be repoſed in *Telha* and *Zobéir*: That there was reaſon rather to ſuſpect that they would both be in Arms againſt him. Wherefore, ſays he, *I adviſe you to continue* Moawiyah *in his Place till he ſubmits to your Government; and when he has once done that, leave it to me to pull him out of his Houſe by the Ears for you whenſoever you deſire it.* *Ali* ſwore by God, *that nothing ſhould be* Moawiyah's *Portion but the Sword.* Upon which the other told him, that he was indeed a Man of Courage, but wanted Conduct. *Ali* told him that it was his Buſineſs to obey. *Almogeirah* replied, that he did not find himſelf under any ſuch Obligation. Thus the Conference broke up, and in a ſhort time *Almogeirah* retired to *Meccah*.

The greateſt Part of the *Helpers* came in, except a few that had been *Othman*'s Almoners and other Officers. [3] Hence it ſeems came the Title of the *Motazeli*, which in Engliſh ſignifies *Separatiſts*, becauſe when *Ali* was Proclaimed, they were of the oppoſite Party.

Ali, deaf to all Repreſentations to the contrary, reſolved to make a thorough Reformation in all the Lieutenancies; and in the beginning of the next [4] Year, ſent out his new Officers to

[3] *Abulpheda.* [4] An. Heg. 36.

their

ALI. their reſpective Provinces. *Othman* the Son of
n. Heg. 35. *Haniph* was ordered to *Baſorah*. *Ammárah* the
epit Jul. 10. Son of *Sahál* to *Cufah*, (he was one of the *Fly-*
A. C. 655. *ers.*) *Abdollah* the Son of *Abbas* to *Arabia Fæ-*
lix, (he was one of the *Helpers.*) And *Sahel* the
Son of *Haniph*, another of the Helpers, to *Syria*.

When *Sahel* came to *Tabúk* he met with a Party of Horſe; who demanded of him to give an account of himſelf, he anſwered that he was Governor of *Syria*. They told him that if any one elſe beſides *Othman* had ſent him, he might go back again about his Buſineſs. He aſked them if they had not been informed of the Fate of *Othman?* They told him, yes. Perceiving that there was no room for him there, he returned back to *Ali*. *Kais* went into *Ægypt*, where he was oppoſed by a Party of the *Othmanians*, who refuſed to ſubmit to *Ali*'s Government, till Juſtice was done upon the Murtherers of *Othman*. *Othman* the Son of *Haniph* went to *Baſorah*, where he found the People divided. And receiving Information that the *Cufians* were reſolved not to change their Governor, returned to *Ali*, with the News of their Reſolution. *Abu Muſa Alaſhari* was then the Governor of *Cufah*, put in by *Othman*. *Abidollah* went to *Arabia Fælix*, where *Yali* governed by *Othman*'s Commiſſion. *Yali* reſigned to him; but plundered the Treaſury firſt; and making the beſt of his

Way

ALI. An. Heg. 3[illegible] *cæpit Jul.* 1[illegible] *A.C.* 655.

Way to *Meccah*, delivered the Money to *Ayeſha*, *Telha* and *Zobéir*.

The *Separatiſts* in the mean time, leaſt they ſhould be wanting in any thing that might poſſibly give any Diſturbance to *Ali*'s Government, carried *Othman*'s bloody Shirt, in which he was Murthered, into *Syria*; where they made a very good Uſe of it. Sometimes it was ſpread upon the Pulpit; and ſometimes carried about in the Army. To inflame the Matter; his Wife's Fingers, that were cut off at the time when he was Murthered, were pinned upon the Shirt. This Sight daily expoſed to open View, put the *Syrian* Army, who were very much Indebted to *Othman*'s Munificence, into a Rage; nothing would ſerve but the revenging his Death. And they indeed were in good Earneſt: But the whole Secret of this Affair lyes here. *Ayeſha*, *Telha* and *Zobéir* were always Enemies to *Othman*, and the Contrivers of his Death and Deſtruction. But when they ſaw *Ali* elected, whom they equally hated, they made uſe of *Othman*'s real and ſincere Friends as Inſtruments of their Malice againſt him. So that upon different Accounts they all unanimouſly joined in demanding Satisfaction for the Murther of *Othman*.

As ſoon as *Sahel* returned with his Anſwer from *Syria*, which was before *Telha* and *Zobéir* had taken their leave, he ſent for them both, and

ALI. An. Heg. 35. æpit Jul. 10. A. C. 655.

and told them that what he had cautioned them againſt before, was now come to paſs; that things were carried to too great an height already to be made up without ſuch an Expedient, as ſhould make all Parties eaſy: That Sedition was like Fire, the more it burnt, the ſtronger it grew, and the brighter it ſhined. They then aſked him to give them leave to go out of *Medinah*, and if the Diſturbance increaſed, they would be anſwerable for it. What anſwer he gave them I cannot ſo well tell, becauſe I am not ſure of the true Reading in my [7] obſcure Manuſcript. Here give me leave once to ſay, that if I were not deſtitute of Arabick Types, I would never be aſhamed to confeſs my Ignorance of any Paſſage that I did not perfectly underſtand, but Print it in the Original in the Margin; that I might have an opportunity of being informed by the Learned; and they might collate it with other Copies. But to gueſs once at his Senſe; the Firſt that I ſhould chuſe ſhould be this. *I will contain as long as it is poſſible; if nothing will do, I muſt apply* Cauſtics. He wrote forthwith to *Moawiyah* in *Syria* and *Abu Muſa* at *Cufah*. *Abu Muſa* ſatisfied him that all the *Cufians* were intirely at his Service; but ſent him at the ſame time a Catalogue of thoſe who came in of their own accord at firſt;

[7] *Alcámil*, by *Ebno'l Athir*, MS. *Pocock.* N. 137.

and

ALI.
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A. C. 655.

and thoſe that afterwards of courſe followed the Majority. *Moawiyah* did not vouchſafe to give him one word of Anſwer to all his Meſſages; till about three Months after *Othman*'s Death, he called a Meſſenger and delivered him a Letter ſealed up with this Subſcription; *From* Moawiyah *to* Ali. Then giving him private Inſtructions, he ſent him away to *Medinah*, and *Ali*'s Meſſenger along with him, whom he had detained all this while. He went into *Medinah*, according to his Directions, in the Evening, (when he was like to be ſeen by moſt People; for in thoſe hot Countries the Streets are moſt frequented in the cool of the Day) and carried the Packet aloft upon a Staff. The People who were well enough Appriſed of *Moawiyah*'s Diſaffection to *Ali*, thronged after him with liſtening Ears, earneſtly expecting the Contents of his Meſſage. When *Ali* opened the Letter it was a meer Blank; not ſo much as one word written in it, which he rightly underſtood as a Token of the utmoſt Contempt and Defiance. Then aſking the Meſſenger what News; he was anſwered, that there were no leſs than ſixty thouſand Men in Arms under *Othman*'s Shirt, which was ſet up as a Standard upon the Pulpit of *Damaſcus*. *Ali* aſked whether or no they required the Blood of *Othman* at his Hands? Calling God to witneſs that he was not Guilty of

ALI. of it and begging his Aſſiſtance. Then turn-
n.Heg.35. ing to [3] *Ziyâd* who ſat by him, he told him that
pit Jul.10. there muſt of neceſſity be a War in *Syria*;
C.655. which *Ziyâd* ſoon communicated to the People. *Ali* did all that in him lay to Encourage them, and wrote circular Letters round about to all the Provinces, to demand their Aſſiſtance.

Whilſt he was making this Preparation, he was informed of the Revolt of *Telha*, *Zobéir* and *Ayeſha*, who had formed a terrible Conſpiracy againſt him at *Meccah*. For all the Male-contents, particularly thoſe of the Houſe of *Ommiyah*, which was *Othman*'s Family, joined to the caſhiered Governors; and having their Prophet's Widow at the head of them, who declared her ſelf openly againſt *Ali*, gathered together conſiderable Forces, and reſolved upon a War. [4] *Telha* and *Zobéir* had acquainted them at *Meccah*, in what an unſettled Condition *Ali*'s Affairs were at *Medinah*, which induced *Ayeſha* to perſwade them to go thither, and ſtrike at the very Root. Others were of Opinion that it was beſt to join the *Syrians*: But upon Conſideration that *Moáwiyah* alone was ſufficient to ſecure that part of the Country, and beſides that *Telha* had a good Intereſt at *Baſorah*, they reſolved upon that Expedition; and accordingly

[3] This was *Ziyâd Ben Hentelah* of *Arabia Felix*. [4] *Alcámil* MS. *Pocock* N. 137.

cauſed

caused this Proclamation to be made about the Streets of *Meccah*: *The Mother of the Faithful, and* Telha, *and* Zobéir, *are going in Person to* Basoran. *Whosoever therefore is desirous of strengthening the* Religion, *and Fighting voluntarily to Revenge the Death of* Othman, *if he hath no Convenience of Riding let him come.* They mounted Six Hundred Volunteers upon the like Number of Camels. They went out of *Meccah* about Nine Hundred or a Thousand strong; and the People joined them in their March till they were about three Thousand. [s] *Menbah* had presented *Ayesha* with a Camel, whose Name was *Alascar*, which in the Arabick Language signifies *the Army*. It cost him an hundred Pieces. There is no certainty as to the Value of the Arabick Coins. As near as I can guess, I should take one of those Pieces of Gold to be worth almost half a Guinea of our Money; according to which Computation, *Ayesha*'s Camel cost about Fifty Pounds. Mounted upon this Camel in a Litter she headed the Forces in their March from *Meccah* towards *Basorah*. As they were on the Road they came to a Rivulet called *Jowâb*, on the side of which there was a Village of the same Name. All the Dogs of the Village came running out in a Body, and fell a barking at *Ayesha*; who thereupon imme-

ALI. An. Heg. 35 *cœpit Jul.* 10 A. C. 655.

[s] *Abulpheda*. MS. *Pocock* Num. 303.

diately

ALI. An. Heg. 35. Incipit Jul. 10. A. C. 655.

diately aſked what was the Name of the Place in a great ſurprize. Being informed that it was called *Jowâb*; ſhe quoted that Verſicle of the *Alcoran*, which is frequently made uſe of in Caſes of iminent Danger, [1] *We are reſigned to God, and to him we have Recourſe.* Declaring that ſhe would not ſtir a ſtep further; that ſhe had heard the Prophet ſay when he was Travelling with his Wives; *I wiſh I had known it, and they ſhould have Lodged within the barking of the Dogs of* Jowâb. [2] Beſides that he had told her formerly that one of his Wives ſhould at ſome time or other be barked at by the Dogs of this Place: That ſhe ought to take care of it, becauſe ſhe would find herſelf in a bad Condition, and in very great Danger. [3] Hereupon ſhe ſtruck her Camel upon the Leg to make him kneel, in order to alight; and reſolved to ſtay there all Night. *Telha* and *Azzobéir* could not tell what to make of this Whimſy; and knowing of what Importance it was for them to precipitate their March; as having very good Reaſon to think that *Ali* would not be long after them, told her, and ſuborned Fifty Witneſſes to ſwear it, that it was a Miſtake of the Guide, and that that Place had never been called by any ſuch Name. But all to no purpoſe, ſhe

[1] *Alcoran* Chap. 11. 151. [2] D' *Herbelot* in voce *Ali*. [3] *Abulpheda*.

would

would not ſtir; at laſt one of them cried out, *Quick, quick, yonder comes* Ali; upon which they all immediately ſcampered, and made the beſt of their way to *Baſorah*. ALI. An. Heg. 35 *cœpit Jul.* 10 *A.C.* 655.

[4] The Hiſtorians ſay, That this was the firſt ſolemn and publick Lye that was ever told ſince the beginning of *Mahometiſm*; whether it be ſo or not, is not ſo very material; this is moſt certain that they who made it, found their Account in it, for it conveyed them with incredible Speed to *Baſorah*.

[5] *Othman*, who was *Ali*'s Governor in that Place, was able to make but a weak Reſiſtance. After a Skirmiſh in which he loſt Forty of his Men, he was taken Priſoner. They tore his Beard and Eye-brows out by the Roots, and after a ſhort Confinement diſmiſſed him.

[6] One of our Authors is a little more particular. He ſays, that *Ayeſha* wrote to *Othman* at *Baſorah*, and to the reſt of the Provinces, exciting them to Revenge the Death of *Othman*; magnifying his good Qualities; and applauding (as ſhe always had done ſince his Death) the Sincerity of his Repentance, and the Barbarity of the Murder: Inveighing againſt his Enemies, as if they had broke through and trampled upon every thing that was Sacred. *Othman* ſent two Meſſengers to her. She gave them a Hearing,

[4] D'*Herbelot*. [5] This was *Othman Ben Haniph*. [6] *Ebn'ol Athir*.

ALI. An. Heg. 35. Incepit Jul. 10. A. C. 655.

and anſwered them in ſuch like Terms. When they returned and made their Report, the *Baſorians* were in Confuſion. *Othman*, a helpleſs timorous Man, diſſwaded them from enterpriſing any thing till the Arrival of the Emperor of the Faithful, and having ſubſtituted *Ammár* in his Room, withdrew to his own Houſe. *Ammár* called the Men to Arms, and went to the Moſque to hold a Conſultation. One of them ſtood up and ſaid, *If theſe People come hither out of Fear, they are come out of a Country where a Bird may be ſafe. If they make enquiry after the Blood of* Othman, *we did not kill* Othman: *Wherefore take my Advice, and ſend them back to the Place from whence they came.* Then another roſe up and ſaid; *Either they ſuſpect us guilty of the Murther of* Othman; *or they come to aſk our aſſiſtance againſt thoſe that did Murther him, whether belonging to us or not.* This Orator had no ſooner ſpoke, but ſome of the Company threw Duſt in his Face; by which *Ammár* perceived that they had a Faction in *Baſorah* which much diſcouraged him. In the mean time, *Ayeſha* advancing nearer, the *Baſorians* went out to meet her; and they that were ſo inclined went over to her. They had a Debate: *Telha* began firſt, and harangued the People in the praiſe of *Othman*; he was ſeconded by *Zobéir*, who was ſucceeded by *Ayeſha*. When ſhe

ſhe had uttered what ſhe had to ſay with her loud ſhrill Voice, the Company was divided, ſome ſaid ſhe had ſpoken right, the oppoſite Party gave them the Lie; Till at laſt they came to throwing the Gravel and Pebbles in one anothers Faces. Which when *Ayeſha* perceived ſhe alighted; and one of the *Arabs* made up to her and ſaid; *O Mother of the Faithful! The murdering of* Othman *was a thing of leſs Moment, than thy coming out from thy Houſe upon this curſed Camel. Thou hadſt a Veil and a Protection from God; but thou haſt rent the Veil, and ſet at nought the Protection. The ſame Perſons that are now Witneſſes of thy quarrelling here will alſo be Witneſſes of thy Death. If thou cameſt to us of thy own Accord, return back to thy own Houſe; if thou cameſt hither by Force, call for Aſſiſtance.* At the ſame time a young Man came up to *Telha* and *Zobéir*, and told them he perceived they had brought their *Mother* along with them, and aſked them whether or no they had not brought their wives too? All this was to reproach *Ayeſha* for her Impudence, in engaging her ſelf in this Expedition. At laſt they drew their Swords, and fought till Night parted them, The next Day they fought again; in which Skirmiſh moſt were killed on *Othman*'s ſide, and a great many Wounded on both ſides. When they grew weary of Fighting they began

AL. I. An. Heg. 35 *cœpit Jul.* 10 *A. C.* 655.

ALI. An. Heg. 35. *cœpit Jul.* 10. *A. C.* 655.

to Parley; and agreed upon this Article: That a Meſſenger ſhould be ſent to *Medinah* to enquire whether *Telha* and *Zobéir* came into the Inauguration of *Ali* Voluntarily or by Compulſion. For there lay the whole Difficulty. If they came in Voluntarily, all the *Muſlemans* would have treated them as Rebels: If by Compulſion, their Party thought they could juſtify their ſtanding by them. When the Meſſenger arrived at *Medinah*, and delivered his Errand, they were all ſilent for a while. At laſt *Aſámah* ſtood up and ſaid that they were compelled. His ſaying ſo had like to have coſt him his Life; if a Friend of his, a Man of Authority among them, had not taken him by the Hand and led him Home. To whom *Aſámah* ſaid, he did not think it to be a Matter of ſuch Importance as now he perceived it was. As ſoon as *Ali* heard this News, he wrote to *Othman*, and taxed the weakneſs of his Conduct; telling him that *Ayeſha*, *Telha* and *Zobéir* had not rejected or ſet themſelves in oppoſition to a *Party*, but to the whole Body of the People. That if nothing leſs than the depoſing him would ſatisfy them, they were altogether without Excuſe: But if they had any other Propoſals to make, they might be conſidered on both ſides. While theſe Matters were tranſacting at *Medinah*, *Ayeſha*'s Party ſent to *Othman* to come out. Who anſwered that their Demand

was

ALI. An. Heg. 36. *cœpit Jun.* 29. *A. C.* 656.

was not conformable to the Agreement, which was to ſtay for an Anſwer from *Medinah*. Notwithſtanding which, *Telha* and *Zobéir*, reſolved to omit no favourable Opportunity, took the Advantage of a tempeſtuous Night, and got into the *Moſque*; where after a Skirmiſh, in which about Forty of *Othman*'s Men were killed, he was himſelf ſeized, and word ſent to *Ayeſha* to know which way ſhe would pleaſe to diſpoſe of him. The firſt Sentence ſhe pronounced was Death; but upon one of her Women ſaying to her, *I adjure thee by God and the Companions of the Apoſtle do not kill him*; that Sentence was changed into forty Stripes, and Impriſonment.

We now leave *Ayeſha*, *Telha* and *Zobéir* in the Poſſeſſion of *Baſorah*, taking the Suffrages of the People for themſelves, and look back to *Medinah*. Where *Ali* made a Speech to the People, having firſt (as is always their Cuſtom) given due Praiſe and Thanks to God; in which he ſaid, *The latter end of this Affair will not be rectifyed by any other means than thoſe by which it was begun; wherefore help God, and he will help you, and direct your Affairs.* But this is the Caſe always when there is a ſtrong Competition; moſt People love to ſtand Neuter, and act the part of Spectators, till they ſee on which ſide the Scale will turn, rather than expoſe themſelves

ALI. An. Heg. 36. Ineunte Jun. 29 A. C. 656.

to apparent Danger. [1] Though *Ali* was exceedingly well beloved, and they knew very well that he was fairly Elected; yet all his Eloquence, though he was allowed to be the beſt Orator in that Age, was not ſufficient to move his Audience to ſtir in good Earneſt. Which [2] *Ziyâd* perceiving, he ſtept to *Ali* of his own accord, and ſaid, "Let whoſoever will hold back, we "will be forward." Then ſtood up two of the Religious, *Helpers*, Doctors of the Law, and pronounced this Sentence. *Alhúcm*, That is, *the Deciſion is this.* THE *IMAN OTHMAN* MASTER OF THE TWO TESTIMONIES DID NOT DYE BY THE MASTER OF THE TWO TESTIMONIES. That is in ſhort, Ali *is not guilty of the Death of* Othman. By the two Teſtimonies they mean the two Articles of their Faith, *There is but one God*, Mahomet *is the Apoſtle of God.* Which Sentence formally pronounced in favour of *Ali* was a mighty inducement to them to engage in his Quarrel. One of the [3] *Anſars* ſaid to *Ali*, *The Apoſtle of God, upon whom be Peace, put me on this Sword: Which I have ſheathed a long while; but now it is high time to draw it againſt theſe wicked Men who are always deceiving the People.* The Mother of *Sal-*

[1] *Ebno'l Athir.* [2] *Ziyâd* the ſon of *Hantelah.* [3] That was *Abu Katâdah.*

nah

ALI. An. Heg. 36, capit Jun. 29 A. C. 656.

nah ſaid, *O Emperor of the Faithful! if it would not be a ſin againſt God, and that thou wouldeſt not accept of me, I would go with thee my ſelf; but here is my Couſin German, who, by God is dearer to me than my own Life, let him go with thee and partake of thy Fortunes.* Him *Ali* accepted, and afterwards made Governor of *Behbrîn*. There marched with him about Nine hundred out of *Medinah*, and at firſt he conceived ſome hopes of overtaking *Ayeſha* and her Company before their Arrival at *Baſorah*; but being informed at a Place called *Arrábdah* that it was in vain: He reſted there to take farther Conſideration.

Thither came his Son *Haſan* to him, and told him that he had given him his Advice in three Particulars, and that now as the Conſequence of his refuſing it, he might expect to be murthered to Morrow without any body to help him. Upon *Ali*'s demanding what thoſe Particulars might be; *Haſan* anſwered, in the firſt place, I adviſed you when *Othman* was beſieged, to go out of the City, that you might not be in it when he ſhould be killed. Then ſecondly, I adviſed you not to be inaugurated till the Ambaſſadors of the Tribes of the *Arabs* ſhould come to you; and all the Provinces were come in. Laſt of all I adviſed you when this Woman and thoſe two Men went out, to ſit ſtill at Home

ALI. n. Heg. 36. pit Jun. 29. C. 656.

till they ſhould be reconciled: So that if there were any Miſchief done, the blame might rather be laid upon ſome other Perſon than your ſelf. To which *Ali* anſwered: As to your firſt, if I had gone out of the City when *Othman* was beſieged; that had been the way for me to have been ſurrounded my ſelf. Then as to your ſaying that I ought not to have been inaugurated till all the Tribes came in; you ought to know that the diſpoſal of the Government is a Privilege peculiar to the *Medinians* or *Helpers*; and we were not willing to loſe it. As for your laſt Advice, that I ſhould have ſat ſtill at Home after *Ayeſha* and *Zobéir* were gone forth; how could I do that in theſe Circumſtances, or who would? Would you have me lurk in a hole like a wild Beaſt till ſhe is digged out? If I do not my ſelf look after what concerns me in this Affair, and provide for my neceſſary Defence, who will look after it? Therefore, Son, hold you your Tongue.

During his ſtay at *Arrábdah* he ſent *Mahomet* the Son of *Abubeker*, and *Mahomet* the Son of *Jaafâ* to his Friends at *Cufah* with a Letter, in which he did not ſo much preſs them to fight for him, as to come and Arbitrate between him, and thoſe that had made a Separation from him. He told them, "how much he preferred them to all "the

" the reſt of the Provinces, and what confidence " he repoſed in them in the time of his Extre- " mity. That they ſhould help the Religion of " God, and repair to him in order to make uſe " of ſuch Means as might be proper for the " reconciling this divided People, and making " them Brethren again." He did not neglect in the mean time ſending to *Medinah*, from whence he was plentifully ſupplied with Horſes, Arms and all Neceſſaries. In his publick Harangues he repreſented to the People " the great Bleſſ- " ing which God had indulged them in giving " them the *Religion*; whereby thoſe Tribes were " united that formerly uſed to reduce one ano- " ther to a deſpicable Condition. That this Peace " continued, till this Man (meaning *Othman*) " fell into the Hands of this People, whom the " Devil had ſet on work to make a Diſturbance. " However that it was NECESSARY that " this People ſhould be divided as other Nations " had been before it; and that we muſt call to " God to avert the preſent Evil." Then turn- ing to his Son he ſaid, " Whatſoever IS is of " NECESSITY. And the time will come " when this People ſhall be divided into ſeven- " ty three Sects; the worſt of which will be " that, that ſhall ſet me at nought and will not " follow my Example. You have known this " and ſeen it; wherefore keep cloſe to your

ALI. An. Heg. 36 *capit Jun.* 29 *A. C.* 656.

" Re-

ALI. n. Heg. 36. Apr. Jun. 29. C. 656.

" Religion, and be directed in the right way; " for it is the Direction of your Prophet. Let " what is too hard for you alone, till you bring " it to the Teſt of the *Alcoran:* And what the " *Alcoran* approveth ſtand to, and what it " diſapproveth reject. Delight in God for your " Lord; and in [9] ISLAM for your Religion; " in *Mahomet* for your Prophet, and in the *Al-* " *coran* for your Guide and Director."

When they were about decamping from *Arrábdah* for *Baſorah*; the Son of *Rephaa* ſtood up and aſked him, *O Emperor of the Faithful! What is it thou wouldeſt have, and whither wouldeſt thou carry us?* *Ali* anſwered, *What I would have and intend is Peace, if they will accept of it at our Hands, if not, we will leave them alone to their Raſhneſs, and do what is juſt on our Part and bear with Patience. But how,* replied *Rephaa, if that will not ſatisfy them? Why then,* ſays *Ali, we will let them alone ſo long as they let us alone; if not, the laſt Remedy is to defend our ſelves.* Upon this, one of the *Anſars* ſtood up, and told him, that he liked his Diſcourſe better than his Management; but ſubjoyned immediately with an Oath, *That*

[9] That is *Mahometaniſm:* The Word ſignifies the delivering ones ſelf up; and with the Article *Al*, it is reſtrained to the ſignification of delivering ones ſelf up to God.

they

they would Help God since he had called them HELPERS.

ALI. An. Heg. 3. *cœpit Jun.* 2. *A.C.* 656.

Soon after there came a Party of the Tribe of *Tai* to profer their Service to him. Their Chief, whose Name was *Saïd*, the Son of *Obeid*, thus addressed him. *O Emperor of the Faithful! There are some Men whose Tongues are not according to their Hearts, but I do not find it so with me. I always have a Respect for thee both secretly and openly, and will fight thy Enemies wheresoever I meet them. For I look upon thee as a Person of the greatest Merit, and the most excellent Qualifications of any in the Age thou livest in. Ali* gave him his Blessing (*God have Mercy upon you*) and told him, that he was satisfied with his Sincerity: He then removed from *Arrábdah*, and the Tribe of *Ased* and some more of *Tai* profered their Service, but he said, they might go Home, for he had [7] *Mohagerins* enough for his Purpose.

In the mean while, *Ali* was full of Expectation of News from his two Messengers that he had sent to *Cufah*. *Abu Musa*, who, as we have before observed, had sent him Word at first, that all was well on that Side the Country, and acquainted him with the Particulars of all that concerned him there; perceiving how the Face of Things was altered on a sudden, and appre-

[7] Flyers, or Refugees.

hensive

ALI. n.Heg.36. bit Jun.29. .C. 656.

henſive of the Succeſs of *Ayeſha*, *Telha* and *Zobéir* at *Baſorah*; began to find himſelf in ſome ſort of Suſpence. So that when *Mahomet*, the Son of *Abubeker*, and *Mahomet* the Son of *Jaafar*, came to *Cufah* with *Ali*'s Letter, and ſtood up among the People according to his Command, there was a perfect Silence. It is worth obſerving here, that upon all ſuch Occaſions, the Way was, for all the Congregation to run to the Moſque, where every Thing was publiſhed in the Hearing of all that were preſent; and every one (Slavesexcepted) had the Liberty of aſſenting or diſſenting, according as he was influenced by his Prejudice or Judgment. At laſt in the Evening there came ſome of the *Hagis*, or Pilgrims, (they having been once on Pilgrimage at *Meccah*, entitles them to that Name, and procures them Reverence as long as they live) and aſked *Abu Muſa*, what he thought of *going out?* meaning to aſſiſt *Ali*. To which he gravely anſwered, *My Opinion to Day is different from what it was Yeſterday. What you deſpiſed in Time paſt, hath drawn upon you what you ſee now, The* going out, *and* ſitting ſtill at Home, *are two Things.* Sitting ſtill at Home *is the Heavenly Way.* The going out, *is the Way of the World. Therefore take your Choice.* None of the People took any Notice of what he ſaid, nor returned him any Anſwer. But both the

Ma-

Mahometans were in a Rage, and gave him reproachful Language. To which he anſwered with an Oath, that the Inauguration of *Othman* hung ſtill both over his own Neck and their Maſter's (meaning *Ali*) and they were reſolved not to engage themſelves, unleſs compelled by abſolute Neceſſity, till they had got their Hands clear of the Murderers of *Othman*, whereſoever they were. Wherefore, adds he, you may both get you back to *Ali* and tell him ſo.

ALI. An. Heg. 3 *cœpit Jun.* 2 *A. C.* 656.

[6] *Ali* was then advanced as far as *Dúlkhâr*, where his Governor *Othman* came to wait upon him, and told him, that he had ſent him to *Baſorah* with a Beard, but he was come back without one. *Thy Sufferings*, ſays *Ali*, *are meritorious. All Mankind were ſatisfied in the Choice of two of my Predeceſſors, who managed agreeably both to the Written Law and the Traditional. Then a third preſided over them, to whom they ſubmited. At laſt they choſe me; and* Telha *and* Zobéir *came unto the Election, but did not ſtand to their Word. What I wonder at, is their voluntary Submiſſion to* Abubeker, Omar *and* Othman, *and their Oppoſition tn me! But by God, they ſhall both know, that I am not one jot inferior to any of my Predeceſſors.*

[7] As ſoon as *Ali* had received *Abu Muſa*'s Anſwer; he diſpatched *Alaſhtar*, (a Man of

[6] *Abu'lpheda.* [7] *Ebno'l Athîr.*

Re-

ALI. An Heg. 36. ætat. Jun. 29. A. C. 656.

Reſolution, and fit to be made uſe of in Caſes of Difficulty) together with *Ebn Abbás* to *Cufa*, with Inſtructions at large to make uſe of their own Diſcretion in rectifying whatſoever they ſhould find amiſs. When they had delivered their Errand, and deſired the Aſſiſtance of the *Cufians*, *Abu Muſa* made this Speech to them. "[8] Friends, the Companions of the Apoſtle of "God, upon whom be Peace, know more of "God and his Apoſtle, than thoſe who have "not converſed with him. And you have a "Right over us. I give you this Advice. It is "my Opinion, that you ſhould not aſſume to "your ſelves the Authority of God, nor make "War againſt God. Let thoſe that are come "along with you from *Medinah*, return thither "again, till they be all agreed; they know beſt "who is fit to be truſted." *For this Diſturbance is ſuch an one*, (it is a Sentence of *Mahomet*'s) *as he that ſleepeth in it is better than he that is awake; and he that is awake better than he that ſitteth; and he that ſitteth better than he that ſtandeth; and he that ſtandeth better than he that walketh on Foot; and he that walketh on Foot better than he that rideth.* "Sheath your "Swords and take the Heads off of your Lan-"ces; cut your Bow Strings, and receive him

[8] *Ebno'l Athir.*

"that

"that is injured into your Houſes till this Buſi-
"neſs is made up, and the Diſturbance ceaſed."

ALI. An. Heg. 3 *cœpit' fun.* 2 *A. C.* 656.

Ebn Abbás and *Alaſhtar* returning to *Ali* with this News, he laſt of all ſent his eldeſt Son *Haſan*, and [4] *Ammâr* along with him: *Abu Muſa* received *Haſan*, with Reſpect; but when they came into the Moſque to debate the Matter, he oppoſed it with the ſame Vigour that he had done all along before, repeating that Saying of *Mohomet's* (which he affirmed to have had from his own Mouth) "That there ſhould be a Se-"dition, in which he that ſat ſhould be better "than him that ſtood, *&c.*" *Ammâr* took him up briſkly, and told him, that the Apoſtle directed that Speech to him, who was better ſitting than ſtanding at any Time. Still *Abu Muſa* perſiſted in exerting his utmoſt to hinder them from complying with *Ali*'s Propoſals. When the People began to be in a Tumult, *Zeid*, the Son of *Sauchân*, ſtood up and pulled out a Letter from *Ayeſha*, commanding him either to ſtay at Home, or elſe come to her Aſſiſtance: Together with another to the *Cufians* to the ſame Effect. Having read them both to the People, he ſaid, SHE *was commanded to ſtay at Home in her Houſe, and* WE [5] to fight till there ſhould be no Sedition. *Now ſhe has commanded*

[4] *Ammâr*, the Son of *Yaſer*.

[5] It is a Text in the *Alcoran*.

ALI. An. Heg. 36. Epit. Jun. 29. A. C. 656.

us to do her Part, and hath taken ours upon her ſelf. This provoked the oppoſite Party, who reproached him for reflecting upon the *Mother of the Faithful.* The Debate grew very warm on both Sides, till at laſt *Haſan*, the Son of *Ali*, roſe up and ſaid, *Hearken* to the Requeſt of your Emperor, and help us in this Calamity which is fallen both upon you and us. Thus ſaith, the Emperor of the Faithful. Either I do Injury my ſelf, or elſe I ſuffer Injury. If I ſuffer Injury God will help me: If I do Injury he will take Vengeance upon me. By God, *Telha* and *Zobéir* were the firſt that inaugurated me, and the firſt that prevaricated. *Have I diſcovered any covetous Inclination, or perverted Juſtice? Wherefore come on,* [7] and command that which is Good, and forbid that which is Evil. This moved the Audience, and the Heads of the Tribes ſpoke one after another, telling the People, that ſince they had given their Allegiance to this Man, and he had done them the Honour to ſend ſeveral Meſſages to them before, and afterwards his Son, to make them Judges and Arbitrators in an Affair of ſuch Importance; that it was highly requiſite for them to comply with ſuch a reaſonable Demand, and go to his Aſſiſtance. *Haſan* told them, that he was going back to his Father, and they that thought fit

[7] It is a Text that frequently occurs in the *Alcoran.*

might

might go along with him, and the reſt follow by Water. There came over to him near nine Thouſand in all, ſix thouſand two hundred by Land, and two thouſand four hundred by Water. Some ſay, that *Ali* had ſent *Aſhtar* and *Ammar* along with him after his Son *Haſan* to *Cufah*, and whilſt they were debating it in the Moſque, and every one intent upon the Iſſue, *Aſhtar* took a Party of Men and ſeized the Caſtle by Surprize; then having ordered ſome of *Abu Muſa*'s Men, whom he found there, to be ſeverely banged, he ſent them back with this lamentable News to their Maſter *Abu Muſa*, who was ſpeeching it with great Vehemency againſt the Supply. This Management of *Alaſhtar*, made *Abu Muſa* appear ſo ridiculous and contemptible, that if *Alaſhtar* had not interpoſed and prevented it, his Goods would immediately have been plundered by the Mob.

ALI
An. Heg. 36. *cœpit Jun.* 29. *A.C.* 656.

Ali was very eaſy upon the Acceſſion of theſe new Recruits, and went forwards to meet them and make them welcome. When they came up to him, and ſaid, *You* Cufians *were always Men of diſtinguiſhed Valour; you conquered the Kings of* Perſia, *and diſperſed their Forces till you took Poſſeſſion of their Inheritance. You have both protected the weak ones among your ſelves, and afforded your Aſſiſtance to your Neighbours. I have called you hither to be Witneſſes between us and*

ALI. An. Heg. 36. exp. Jun. 29. A. C. 656.

our Brethren of Baſorah: *If they return, it is what we deſire: If they ſhall perſiſt we will heal them with gentle Uſage, till they fall upon us injuriouſly. We on our Part will omit nothing that may by any Means contribute to an Accommodation, which we muſt prefer to the Deſolation of War.*

Ayeſha and her Party, upon this News, began to be in ſome Perplexity at *Baſorah*. They had very frequent Conſultations, and ſeemed now to be in a deſpairing Condition. Meſſages paſſed backwards and forwards in order to compromiſe the Matter; and it came ſo far, that *Ali*, *Telha* and *Zobéir* had ſeveral Interviews, walking about together in the Sight of both the Armies, ſo that every one expected that there would have been a Peace concluded. *Ali*'s Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand Men all experienced Soldiers, and if that of his Enemies exceeded his in Number, yet it was compoſed of ſuch as they could get; beſides that, they had never a General to command them, that was any ways comparable to *Ali*. In one of their Conferences he reproached their Infidelity, and put them in Mind of the Judgments of God, who would infallibly take Vengeance upon their Perfidiouſneſs. He aſked *Zobéir*, if he did not remember how *Mahomet* had aſked him once, if he did not love his dear Son *Ali*; and he having an-

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An. Heg. 36
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anſwered yes, that *Mahomet* replyed, Notwithſtanding this, there will come a Day, when you ſhall riſe up againſt him, and be the Occaſion of a great many Miſeries both to him and all the Muſlemans.

Zobéir told him, that he remembered it perfectly well, and that if he had recollected it before, he would never have carried Things to that Extremity. It is ſaid, that upon this Hint he declined fighting with *Ali*; but that having acquainted *Ayeſha* with the Circumſtances, that Woman was ſo envenomed againſt him, that ſhe would not upon any Terms, give the leaſt Ear to an Accommodation. Others ſay, that his Son *Abdollah* gave him a Turn, by aſking him, whether or no he was afraid of *Ali*'s Colours? *Zobéir* anſwering, No, but that he was ſworn to the contrary: *Abdollah* bad him expiate his Oath, which he did, [7] by giving a Slave his Liberty, and forthwith put himſelf in a Condition of fighting againſt *Ali*.

The two Armies lay in Order of Battle on their Arms oppoſite to one another. There happened ſome Diſturbance in the Night, the Author of which is uncertain. When *Telha* and *Zobéir* heard it, upon Enquiry into the Cauſe of it, they were anſwered that the *Cufians* had fallen upon them in the Night. They ſaid, they

[7] *Alcoran*, Chap. V.

ALI.
An. Heg. 36.
Sept. Jun. 29.
A. C. 656.

knew very well that *Ali* would never put up the Matter without Bloodshed: And *Ali*, upon his first hearing it, said the same of them. Thus they were of Necessity drawn to a Battle. *Ayesha*, to give Life and Courage to her Friends, mounted upon her great Camel, was carried up and down in the Battel, riding in a Litter of the Shape of a Cage.

Upon which Occasion, the [1] Day whereon this bloody Battel was fought, is called, the *Day of the Camel*; and the Men that were engaged on that Side, *the People of the Camel*. In the Heat of the Battel, when the Victory began to incline towards *Ali*, *Merwân* said to him, 'Tis but a little while ago since *Telha* was amongst the Murderers of *Othman*, and now he is so attached to Worldly Grandeur, that he appears amongst those that seek to revenge his Blood; and with those Words let fly an Arrow and wounded him in the Leg. His Horse threw him. He called for Help and said, *O God! take Vengeance upon me for* Othman, *according to thy Will!* Perceiving his Boot full of Blood, he ordered his Man to take him up behind him, who conveyed him into a House in *Basorah* where he Died. But just before he saw one of *Ali*'s Men, and asked him if he belonged to the Emperor of the faithful. Being informed that he

[1] *Ebno'l Athir. D'Herbelot* in *Ali*.

did;

ALI. An. Heg. 36 cœpit Jun. 29 A. C. 656.

did; *Give me then,* ſaid he, *your Hand that I may put mine in it; and by this Action renew the Oath of Fidelity which I have already made to* Ali. The Words were no ſooner out of his Mouth but he expired immediately: When *Ali* heard it, he ſaid, *God would not call him to Heaven till he had blotted out his firſt Breach of his Word by this laſt Proteſtation of Fidelity.*

[4] *Mircond* writes, that *Zobéir* being informed that *Ammàr Jaſſer* was in *Ali*'s Camp; and knowing that *Mahomet* had formerly ſaid that he was a Perſon that was always for Juſtice and what was right, withdrew himſelf out of the Battel, and took the Road towards *Meccah.* Being come as far as a Valley which is croſſed by a Rivulet called *Sabaa,* he met with *Hanaph Ben Kais* who was Encamped there with all his Men, attending the Succeſs of the Battel, in order to join himſelf with the Conqueror.

[5] *Hanaph* knew who he was at a Diſtance, and ſaid to his Men, Is there no body can bring me any Tidings of *Zobéir?* One of them, whoſe Name was *Amrou Ben Jarmuz* went off immediately and came up to him. *Zobéir* bad him keep his Diſtance. But after ſome Diſcourſe, growing into greater Confidence of him he cryed out *Salàt,* that is, *To Prayers.* (The Hour

[4] *Mircond. D'Herbelot. Ebno'l Athîr.* [5] *Ebno'l Athîr. D'Herbelot.*

ALI. An. Heg. 36. Incipit Jun. 29. A. C. 656.

of Prayer being then come) *Salàt* ſaid *Amrou*; and as *Zobéir* was proſtrating himſelf, took his opportunity and ſtruck his Head off at one Blow with his Sabre; and carried it to *Ali*. When *Ali* ſaw the Head, he let fall ſome Tears and ſaid; Go wretched Villain and carry this good News to *Ben Safiah* in Hell. *Amrou* was ſo moved with theſe Words, that laying aſide all Reſpect he ſaid to him, *You are the ill Deſtiny of all the* Muſlemans; *if one delivers you from any of your Enemies, you immediately denounce Hell to him: And if a Man kills any one of yours, he becomes inſtantly a Companion of the Devil.* His Paſſion increaſing into Rage and Deſpair, he drew his Sword and ran himſelf thorough.

So long as *Ayeſha*'s Camel ſtood upon his Legs, the hotteſt of the Battel was about him. *Táhari* ſays that there were Threeſcore and ten Mens Hands cut off that held his Bridle. *Ayeſha*'s Litter was ſtuck ſo full of Arrows and Javelins that it looked like a Porcupine. At laſt the Camel was Hamſtringed, and *Ayeſha* was forced to lye there till all was over. *Ali* having got an entire Victory, came to her and aſked her how ſhe did. Some Hiſtorians ſay that there was ſome reproachful Language exchanged between them. However he treated her civilly, and diſmiſſed her handſomely with a very good

Equi-

ALI. An. Heg. 3[illegible] *cœpit Jun.* 2[illegible] *A. C.* 656.

[2] Equipage, and commanded his two Sons *Haſan* and *Hoſein* to wait upon her a Day's Journey. He confined her to her Houſe at *Medinah*, and laid a Reſtraint upon her not to intermeddle any more with Affairs of State. She went to *Meccah*, and ſtaid out the time of the Pilgrimage there, after which ſhe returned to *Medinah*. As for the Spoils *Ali* was for dividing them among the Heirs of his Men that were killed, which did not exceed a Thouſand. Then conſtituting *Abdollah Ben Abbàs* his Lieutenant over *Baſorah*, went to *Cufah*, where he eſtabliſhed the Seat of his Government or Chaliphate.

[3] This compleat Victory rendered *Ali* exceeding powerful. He is now Maſter of *Irâck*, *Ægypt*, *Arabia*, *Perſia* and *Choraſân*. So that there was none left that could give him the leaſt Diſturbance but *Moawiyah* and the *Syrians* under his Command. *Ali* ſeemed not to be apprehenſive of any Moleſtation from them after ſuch great Succeſs, and ſent a Meſſenger to him to come in. *Moawiyah* put off the Meſſenger without giving him any ſatisfactory Anſwer, till *Amrou* the Son of *Ali* who was then in *Paleſtine* could come to him. *Amrou*, to his great ſatisfaction, found the *Syrians* very eager to Revenge the Blood of *Othman*, and did what in him lay to ſpur them on. Upon this, *Amrou* and *Moa-*

[2] *Abu'lpheda. Rejeb.* Anno 36. [3] *Abu'lpheda.*

ALI. n. Heg. 36. pit Jun. 29. C. 656.

wiyah reſolved to ſtand it out to the laſt againſt *Ali*, *Amrou* having firſt ſtipulated for himſelf that in caſe of Succeſs he ſhould have the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, which he had Conquered in the Reign of *Omar*. [6] This agreed to, *Amrou* in the Preſence of all the Army took the Oath of Allegiance to *Moawiyah*, acknowledging him to be lawful [7] *Chaliph* and Prince of the *Muſlemans*. This Action which had been concerted between them two, was followed by the Acclamations of the People, who unanimouſly took the ſame Oath.

As ſoon as *Ali* was appriſed of theſe Commotions in *Syria*, he made uſe of all manner of gentle means to reduce the Rebels to a Senſe of their Duty. But perceiving that the People of that large Province had unanimouſly declared againſt him, he begun to fear that it would be to no purpoſe, to ſet on foot any further Negotiation; and marched with an Army of Ninety thouſand Men towards that part of the Country. [8] Juſt upon his Entrance into the Confines of *Syria*, he was obliged to Encamp in a Place where he wanted Water.

Not far from his Camp, there was an Hermitage under Ground, the Hermit whereof, who was a Chriſtian, came and offered himſelf

[6] *D'Herbelot.* [7] *Abulpheragius* ſays that they did not ſwear to him by the Title of *Chaliph*, but only of *Emir*. [8] *D'Herbelot.*

to

to him. *Ali* enquired of him, if there was ne- ALI.
ver a Spring within the Neighbourhood; the An. Heg. 36 *cœpit Jun.* 20 *A. C.* 656.
Hermit told him that there was nothing but a Ciſtern, which had hardly three Buckets of Water in it. *Ali* anſwered, I know however that ſome Ancient Prophets of the People of *Iſrael* have made their Abode here, and that they digged a Pit here. The Hermit ſaid, he had been informed by ſome Ancient Men, that there was one indeed that was ſhut up, and no body knew where it was digged; but that the Tradition of the Country was, that no body could find it, and open it, but a Prophet, or one ſent by a Prophet. *Ali* was not long a finding it, and ordering them to dig in a Place, which he pointed out, found a Stone of a vaſt bigneſs that lay over it, which he inſtantly removed, with the greateſt eaſe imaginable.

The Hermit ſurprized at his ſight, embraced *Ali*'s Knees, and would never leave him after. Beſides, he preſented him with an old Parchment, which he ſaid was written by the Hand of *Simeon*, the Son of *Safa* (that is *Simon Cephas*) one of the greateſt Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*; wherein there was an account given of the coming of the laſt Prophet; the Arrival of his lawful Heir and Succeſſor, and the miraculous diſcovery of this Well.

Ali, after having given Thanks to God, and taken Water ſufficient for his Army, continued his

ALI. his March towards *Seffein*, a Place between *Irâk* and *Syria*, where the Enemies Army was poſted, conſiſting of Fourſcore Thouſand Men. At laſt, both the Armies advancing, they came in ſight of one another, in the laſt Month of the Thirty ſixth Year of the *Flight of Mahomet*.

An. Heg. 36. Expit Jun. 29. A. C. 656.

[1] The firſt Month of the next Year was ſpent, without doing any thing but ſending Meſſengers backwards and forwards, in order to an Accommodation between them to no purpoſe. But upon the entrance of the next [2] Month they began to fight in Parties, without running the hazard of a general Engagement. It is reported, that in the ſpace of One hundred and ten Days, there were no leſs than Ninety Skirmiſhes between them. That the Number of the ſlain on *Moawiyah*'s ſide, was Five and forty Thouſand, and that on *Ali*'s [3] Five and twenty Thouſand, Six and twenty of which had been preſent at the Battel of *Beder*, and were honoured with the Title of *Sahabah*, that is, the Companions of the Prophet. *Ali* had commanded his Men never to begin the Battel firſt, but ſtay till they gave the Onſet, nor kill any Man that had turned his Back, nor take any of their Plunder, nor uſe any indecent Behaviour towards the Women. Nor were *Moawiyah* and *Amrou* wanting

[1] *An Heg.* 37. cœpit Jun. 18. A. C. 657. [2] *Saphar.*
[3] *D'Herbelot* ſays, Five Thouſand, which muſt be a miſtake.

on

ALI. An. Heg. 37 *cœpit Jun.* 1 A. C. 657.

on their ſide, in expreſſing their concern for the Effuſion of the Blood of the *Muſlemans*; eſpecially when *Ammar Ben Jaſſar*, *Ali*'s General of the Horſe, was killed. He was about Ninety Years of Age, and had been in three ſeveral Engagements with *Mahomet* himſelf. He lived reverenced, and died lamented by all. Do you ſee, ſaid *Moawiyah*, at what a rate the People expoſe their Lives upon our account? See! ſays *Amrou*, would to God I had died twenty Years ago. Upon the Death of *Ammar*, *Ali* took Twelve thouſand choſen Men, and made ſuch an Impreſſion upon *Moawiyah*'s Army, that all the Ranks of it were broken. Then *Ali* called out to *Moawiyah*, *How long ſhall the People loſe their Lives between us; come hither: I challenge you to appeal to the Deciſion of God: And which ſoever of us two kills his Man, has all entire to himſelf.* Whereupon *Amrou* ſaid *to Moawiyah*, *Your Couſin has made you a fair Proffer. Moawiyah* ſaid it was not fair, becauſe that *Ali* knew that no Man ever came out againſt him, but he killed him. *Amrou* told him that his Refuſal would look diſhonourably. *Moawiyah* anſwered, *You have a mind to enjoy the Government your ſelf, after I am gone.*

7 The laſt Battel they fought at *Seffein* continued all Night to the great diſadvantage of the

7 *Alu'lpheda.*

Sy-

ALI. *Syrians. Alaſhtar* puſhed them back to their
n. Heg. 37. Camp, and *Ali* ſupported him. It was very near
pit Jun. 18. a compleat Victory, when *Amrou* bethought
A. C. 657. himſelf of this Stratagem. He ſends for *Moawiyah* in great haſte, and adviſes him to hoiſt up the *Alcorans* upon the Points of their Lances, and cry out; *This is the Book that ought to decide all our Differences; this is the Book of God between us and you.* This Stratagem did not fail of the deſired Succeſs; for as ſoon as the *Irakians*, in whom the chief Strength of *Ali*'s Army conſiſted, ſaw this, they threw down their Arms, and ſaid to *Ali*, Will you not anſwer to the Book of God? To which *Ali* anſwered, As you are Men of Truth and Honour, go on and fight your Enemy, for *Amrou* and *Moawiyah* have no Relation to Religion nor the *Alcoran*. Alas for you! I know them better than you do; By God they have not put up theſe *Alcorans*, but with a deſign to trick us. They anſwered, that ſhould not hinder them from being determined by the Book of God. That is it, ſaid *Ali*, which I have been fighting to bring them to, but they have rebelled againſt God and his Commandment. In ſhort, they threatened not only to deſert him but to deliver him into the Hands of his Enemies, if he did not ſound a Retreat: And ſome of the [9] Sectaries, (an Enthuſiaſtick People, that

[9] *Charegites.*

refuſe

refuſe Obedience to their Superiors, both in things Sacred and Civil,) declared to him, that they would ſerve him as they had done the Son of *Affàn*, that is *Othman*, whom they murdered. So that *Ali* was forced to call off *Alaſhtar*, who came back with great Reluctancy, and not under three or four Meſſengers; grieved at the Heart, to ſee ſuch a glorious Victory wreſted out of his hands by ſuch a Stratagem. ALI. An. Heg. 37. *cæpit Jun.* 18 *A. C.* 657.

As ſoon as the Battle was over, *Moawiyah* being aſked, what was the meaning of that Action, anſwered, That the Difference might be put to the Arbitration of two Perſons, who ſhould determine it according to the true Senſe of the *Alcoran*, and the [5] Tradition of the Apoſtle. *Aſhaath*, the Son of *Káis*, one of thoſe that had the greateſt Credit among the Soldiers of *Irâk*, and who was ſuſpected to have been corrupted by *Moawiyah*, aſked *Ali*, how he approved of this Expedient. *Ali* anſwered him coldly, *He that is not at Liberty cannot give his Advice. It belongs to you to manage this Affair according as you ſhall think fit among your ſelves.* The Perſon that they nominated for *Ali* was *Abu Muſa Alâſhari*, a good honeſt well meaning Man, but exceedingly ſimple. *Ali* did not approve of him, becauſe he had formerly been drawn aſide, and forſaken his Intereſt. He had rather have had

[5] *Sunnet.*

Ben

ALI. An. Heg. 37. Sept. Jul. 18. A. C. 657.

Ben Abbâs, but was anſwered, that he was his Couſin-German, and they would have none but ſuch as ſhould deal impartially between him and *Moawiyah*. He next nominated *Alaſhtar*, but they were reſolved he ſhould accept of *Abu Muſa*. *Moawiyah*, on his Part, nominated *Amrou* the Son of *Aaſi*, deſervedly reputed the quickeſt witted Man of the Age. Theſe two Referees took a Security ſigned by *Ali* and *Moawiyah*, and both the Armies, for themſelves and their Families, to ratify and confirm what they ſhould agree upon, which was to be determined [2] the next *Ramadân*. This agreed upon, *Ali* retired to *Cufah*, and *Moawiyah* to *Damaſcus*, leaving each of them the Command of their ſeveral Armies to one of their Generals, and the Authority of Things relating to Religion in the Hands of a particular *Imâm*. But as ſoon as *Ali* came to *Cufah*, Twelve Thouſand of thoſe that could read the *Alcoran* reproached him with his baſe Submiſſion to this Accommodation, as having out of Fear of temporal Calamity ſubmitted to the Determination of Men, when the *Alcoran* expreſly ſays, that *Judgement belongeth to God alone*.

Eight Months after the Battel of *Seffein*, the two Arbitrators met in a [3] Place which lieth be-

[2] This Agreement was ſigned on *Wedneſday* the 13th of the Month *Saphar*, in the Year 37. [3] *Dumat al jondel.*

tween

ALI.
An. Heg. 37
cœpit Jun. 11
A. C. 657.

tween *Meccah*, *Cufah*, and *Syria*, There came along with them ſeveral of the *Sahabah*, or Companions of the Prophet. *Ebn Abbas* bad *Abu Muſa* remember this, whatſoever elſe he forgot; that *Ali* had no Blemiſh to render him incapable of the Government, nor *Moawiyah* any Virtue to qualify him for it. *Amrou*, who knew very well the Genius of his Partner, treated him with the utmoſt Civility and Reſpect, till at laſt he had inſinuated himſelf ſo far into him, as to make him believe, that it would be altogether impracticable ever to bring Things to an Accommodation, without depoſing both theſe Competitors, and leaving the Choice of a Third to the People. This important Article once fixed, they erected a Tribunal between both the Armies, from which each of the Umpires was publickly to declare his Opinion. *Abu Muſa* would have had *Amrou* gone up firſt, but he alledged ſo many Reaſons why he ought to give him the Preference, that at laſt he over-perſwaded him.

Then *Abu Muſa* going up firſt, pronounced theſe Words with a loud Voice: *I depoſe* Ali *and* Moawiyah *from the* Chaliphate *(or Government) to which they pretend, after the ſame Manner as I take this Ring from my Finger.* Having made this Declaration, he immediately came down. Then *Amrou* went up and ſaid, *You have heard*

how

ALI. n. Heg. 37. Sept. Jul. 18. A. C. 657.

how Abu Muſa *has for his Part depoſed* Ali; *as for my Part I depoſe him too, and I give the Chaliphate to* Moawiyah, *and inveſt him with it after the ſame Manner as I put this Ring upon my Finger, and this I do with ſo much the more Juſtice, becauſe he is* Othman's *Heir and Avenger, and the worthieſt of all Men to ſucceed him.*

After this Publication, *Ali*'s Party, aſhamed and confounded at this unexpected Succeſs, began to complain grievouſly of *Abu Muſa*. He for his own Part accuſed *Amrou* of not having performed the Agreement made between them. From Complaints they came to ill Language, and in ſhort, *Abu Muſa*, aſhamed of his Arbitration, and juſtly fearing *Ali*'s Diſpleaſure, beſides, not thinking himſelf ſafe in the Army, took his Flight, and retired to *Meccah*. This *Abu Muſa* was celebrated for the moſt harmonious Voice that ever was heard; it is ſaid, that his Common Diſcourſe was perfect Melody.

The *Syrians* went back to *Moawiyah*, and wiſhed him Joy: And from that Time *Ali*'s Intereſt began to decline, and *Moawiyah*'s increaſed daily. The two oppoſite Parties not only curſed one another, but carried the Matter ſo far as to come to a mutual ſolemn Excommunication, which was always pronounced when they made any Harangue to the People in the Moſque, and continued a long time between the

the Houſe of *Ali* and that of *Ommiyah*, of which were *Othman* and *Moawiyah*. ALI. An. Heg. 37. *cœpit Jun.* 18. *A.C.* 657.

Before we proceed any further, we muſt here obſerve, that when the Treaty of Peace that followed the Suſpenſion of Arms between *Ali* and *Moawiyah* was a writing, the Secretary began with theſe Words. Ali, *Chief and Commander, General of the Muſlemans, agrees to a Peace with* Moawiyah *upon theſe following Terms. Moawiyah* having read theſe firſt Words, ſaid, Certainly I ſhould be a very wicked Man indeed, if I ſhould make War upon him, whom I acknowledge to be the Chief, and Commander General of the Faithful.

[9] Upon this, *Amrou Ebno'l Aſi* ſaid, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to blot out that Title of Chief, or *Emperor of the Faithful*. *Ahnaf* the Son of *Kais*, addreſſing himſelf to *Ali*, ſaid, that he ought by no means to ſuffer himſelf to be deprived of that Title. *Ali* told him, that when he was formerly Secretary to his Father-in-law *Mahomet*, he had himſelf drawn up Articles of Peace between him and *Sohail*, who had revolted againſt him. That upon his having intituled *Mahomet*, *Apoſtle and Meſſenger of God*; *Sohail* ſaid to him, If I had acknowledged your Father-in-law for the Apoſtle and Meſſenger of God, I ſhould never have had any Peace to ſign with

[9] *D'Herbelot. Ebno'l Athîr.*

ALI. An. Heg. 37. cœpit Jun. 18. A. C. 657.

him, for I would never have made any War. I acquainted *Mahomet* with this Difficulty, who anſwered me, *Make no Scruple of blotting out that Title; that doth not depend upon this Treaty, Time will diſcover the Truth of that; and remember, that there will come a Day when you ſhall find your ſelf in the ſame Caſe.* *Ali* therefore gave his Conſent, that for that Time they ſhould omit that Title, of which his Arbitrator, *Abu Muſa*, as we have ſeen already, ſolemnly deprived him. All theſe things were tranſacted in the 37th Year of the *Hegirah*, or *Flight of* Mahomet, and of our Saviour the 657th. As alſo the Revolt of the *Karegites*, or *Separatiſts*, who this Year made an Inſurrection againſt *Ali*.

The Occaſion of their Revolt was, that *Ali* having put his Affairs into the Hands of two Arbitrators, as we have already ſeen, ſome of the *Irakians* told him, that he had done exceeding Wrong, in referring that to the Judgment of Men, which ought to be determined by God alone. That inſtead of ſtanding to the Peace that he had made, he ought to purſue his Enemies, who alſo were the Enemies of God, without Quarter. *Ali* anſwered, that having once paſſed his Word, he was obliged to keep it; and that in this he followed what the Law of God preſcribed. Theſe People anſwered him, that there was no other Judge or Arbitrator between him

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ALI.
An. Heg. 37.
cœpit Jun. 18.
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and *Moawiyah* but God alone: That what he had done was a Sin, and that he ought to repent of it.

[6] *Ali* remonſtrated to them with a great deal of Vigour, that the Sin lay at their Door, in ſhewing ſo much Inconſtancy and Stubborneſs. That they ought to remember, that when *Moawiyah* cauſed the Alcorans to be carried at the Head of the two Armies, he gave them Notice thas it was only a Trick of their Enemies, yet nevertheleſs they had left off fighting without his Order; and that in ſhort, it was very injurious in them, to preſs him to the Breach of a Treaty, which they themſelves had obliged him to ſign.

The Rebels, not at all ſatisfied with theſe Reaſons, choſe for their Captain *Abdollah*, the Son of *Waheb*, who appointed *Naharwan* (a Town between *Bagdad* and *Waſet*, four Miles Eaſt of the River *Tigris*) for the Place of their Rendezvous. Thither came all *Ali*'s Male-contents, whereof there was a great Number from *Cufah*, *Baſorah* and *Arabia*.

Ali took little Notice of them at firſt, his Thoughts being more taken up about *Moawiyah*, whom he conſidered as the much more formidable Enemy; but being informed that they were already increaſed to the Number of Five

[6] *D'Herbelot.*

ALI. An. Heg. 38. *cœpit Jun.* 8. *A.C.* 658.

and twenty Thouſand Men, that they Condemned all Perſons as impious that did not fall in with their Sentiments, and that they had already put to Death ſeveral *Muſlemans*, for refuſing to comply with their Meaſures; he reſolved in fine to exterminate a Sect, which tended to the Subverſion of the very Foundations of *Muſlemaniſm*. However he choſe rather to gain them by Gentleneſs, and bring them back to their Duty by good Advice; but that means proving too weak, he employs the Forces of a conſiderable Army, at the head of which he preſented himſelf to their View. Nevertheleſs he made uſe of this Artifice before he began the Battel; namely to plant a Standard without the Camp, and make Proclamation with ſound of Trumpet, that whoſoever would come under it ſhould have good Quarter; and if any of them would retire to *Cufah*, they ſhould there find a Sanctuary.

This Stratagem ſucceeded well for *Ali*. For the Army of the *Karegites* diſperſed it ſelf in a very little time of its own Accord; and *Abdollah* the Son of *Waheb* found himſelf reduced to Four Thouſand Men only. However this Arch-Rebel was reſolved, with this ſmall Number of Men, to ſignalize his Bravery by a deſperate Attempt. For he attacked *Ali*'s Army, notwithſtanding the inequality of his Forces. But his Raſhneſs was duly puniſhed, he and all his Men

were cut to Pieces, Nine only excepted, which was the ſame Number that *Ali* had loſt in all.

ALI. An. Heg. 38. *cœpit Jun.* 8. *A. C.* 658.

A little before this Fight, *Ali* had foretold to his Friends what would be the Event. *You ſee*, ſays he, *theſe People who make Profeſſion of reading the* Alcoran, *without obſerving its Commandments, they will quit the Profeſſion which they make of their Sect, as quick as Arrows fly from the Bow when they are ſhot off.*

This Victory, which was gained in the Thirty eighth Year of the *Hegirah*, having reunited all the *Arabians* under the Government of *Ali*; there remained nothing elſe to be done, but to reduce the *Syrians*. *Ali* was for marching againſt *Moawiyah* immediately after the Victory. But ſome of his great Men repreſented to him, that it would be proper to give his Army ſome Refreſhment, that every one might make Preparation for a War, which it was plain would be more long winded than the former. *Ali* followed their Advice, and formed his Camp at *Nakilah*, not far from *Cufah*, where he made Proclamation, that during the time of his Encampment in that Place, any one that had any Buſineſs to do in Town, might go for one Day, and return the next; that they might be the ſooner in a readineſs for their Expedition into *Syria*. The effect of the Publication of this Order was,

ALI. An. Heg. 38. *cœpit Jun.* 8. *A. C.* 658.

that the Camp was entirely forſaken; and the General finding himſelf left alone, was obliged to go back to *Cufah* too, as well as the reſt.

Ali, at the beginning of his Chaliphate, had conferred the Government of *Ægypt* upon *Saad* the Son of *Kais*; who acquitted himſelf of his Charge with abundance of Prudence. For there being in *Ægypt* a great Faction of *Othman*'s Partiſans, he knew how to accommodate himſelf to the Time, and managed them with great Addreſs. This Conduct of *Saad* furniſhed *Moawiyah* with an occaſion of publiſhing it all abroad, that this Governor was his Friend, and acted in concert with him. Theſe Reports he ſpread round about, on purpoſe to raiſe a Suſpicion of him in *Ali*, who nevertheleſs had no better Friend belonging to him. [3] To forward the Matter, *Moawiyah* forged a Letter in *Saad*'s Name, directed to himſelf; wherein was inſinuated, that the Reaſon why he had not attacked the Party of the *Othmanians*, was becauſe he was entirely in his Meaſures. The Device of *Moawiyah* had its deſired Effect: For as ſoon as the News reached *Ali*'s Ears, he recalled *Saad* from his Government, and ſent in his room *Mahomet* the Son of *Abubeker* the firſt *Caliph*, which was the cauſe of new Troubles in that Country; for *Mahomet* had no ſooner ſet foot in *Ægypt*,

[3] *Abu'lpheda.*

bu

but he began to chaſe out of it all thoſe who pretended to have had any tye of Friendſhip with *Othman*, or to preſerve any Reſpect for his Memory. ALI. An. Heg. 38. *cœpit Jun.* 8. *A.C.* 658.

Wherefore after his Arrival, there was nothing but Diſſenſions and civil Wars, and theſe Diſorders grew to ſuch a height, that *Ali* was obliged to ſend *Malec Shutur* who is ſometimes called *Uſhtur Malec*, to reſtore his Authority there. But *Moawiyah*, who had notice of the ſending of this new Governor, dealt with a Countryman that lived upon the Confines of *Arabia* and *Ægypt*, and at whoſe Houſe *Uſhtur Malec* was to lodge, to give him Poiſon in the Entertainment which he had prepared for him.

This Man, an old Friend of *Moawiyah*'s, punctually executed his Orders, aud gave him ſome poiſoned Honey to ſup; of which he died before he ſtirred out of the Houſe. [9] As ſoon as *Moawiyah* heard it, he ſaid, *Verily God hath Armies of Honey!* Then he diſpatched *Amrou Ben Alâs* with Six Thouſand Horſe to take Poſſeſſion of the Government of *Ægypt* in his Name; who made ſuch ſpeed that in a few Days he came up to the Capital City; there he joined *Ben Sharig* the Chief of *Othman*'s Party; and they two marched together to engage *Mahomet* the Son of *Abubeker*, who as yet retained

[9] *Abu'lpheda.*

ALI. An. Heg. 38. *cœpit Jun.* 8. *A. C.* 658.

the Name and Authority of Governor for *Ali*. *Mahomet* was routed, and fell into his Enemies Hands alive; who quickly killed him, and, incloſing his dead Body in that of an Aſs, burnt him to Aſhes. [4] As ſoon as *Ayeſha* heard of the Death of her Brother *Mahomet*, ſhe took it extremely to Heart, and kneeled down, at the end of all her Prayers, to beg a Curſe upon *Moawiyah* and *Amrou*, and took *Mahomet*'s Domeſticks and Dependants into her care. *Ali* was very much concerned and ſaid, *We ſhall reckon for him before God.* All this Year there was a continued Succeſſion of Incurſions made into *Ali*'s Territories, who was all this while daily employed in making eloquent Speeches, and moving his Army to go againſt *Moawiyah*, but could make no Impreſſion upon them to the Purpoſe.

[5] *Ali* being informed of all this bad News, ſent for *Abdollah*, the Son of *Abbas*, from *Baſorah*, where he was Governor, that he might comfort himſelf with his Converſation, and they might take ſuch Reſolutions together as were moſt convenient for the bad Condition of their Affairs. *Abdollah* having firſt conſtituted *Ziyád* his Lieutenant in *Baſorah*, came to *Ali*, and once again promiſed him inviolable Fidelity. *Moawiyah*, who was always watchful to make his Advantage of all Opportunities, was no ſooner

[4] *Abu'lpheda.* [5] *D'Herbelot.*

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ALI.

informed that *Ben Abbàs* had left *Baſorah*, but he ſent one *Abdallah*, ſurnamed *Hadrami*, with two thouſand Horſe to ſeize that Place. An. Heg. 39. *cœpit Maii* 28. *A. C.* 659.

Ziyád, who had not Troops ſufficient to ſtand againſt *Abdallah*, left the City to him, and informed *Ali* of the preſſing Neceſſity he was under of having ſpeedy Succours ſent him, that at leaſt he might be able to keep the Field. *Ali* ſent him ſome under the Command of *Hareth*, who arrived ſo ſeaſonably that *Abdallah* was beaten and killed in the Battel, which was fought near *Baſorah*. Upon this the City ſurrendered it ſelf to *Ali*'s Government, who immediately ſent back *Abdollah Ben Abbas*, to take the Command of it as he had done before. This was in the 38th Year of the *Hegirah*.

[1]The next Year paſſed over without any conſiderable Adventures; for the *Syrians*, weary of the War, enterprized nothing againſt the *Arabians*, and the *Arabians* had enough to do to preſerve themſelves. In the beginning of this Year, *Abdollah Ben Abbás*, Lieutenant of *Baſorah*, ſent *Ziyád* to take upon him the Government of *Perſia*, which was put into great Diſorder upon the Account of theſe Commotions between *Ali* and *Moawiyah*. He behaved himſelf ſo well in that Poſt, and managed ſo much to the Satisfaction of the People, that the *Per-*

[1] *Abu'lpheda.*

ſians

ALI. An. Heg. 40. cœpit Maii 16. A.C. 660.

ſians ſaid, they had never met with any Adminiſtration ſince the Days of *Anuſherwan* equal to that of this *Arabian*. This *Anuſherwan* was ſurnamed the *Juſt*, he was the Son of *Hormiſdas* King of the *Perſians*, and reigned contemporary with *Mauritius* and *Phocas*. *Mahomet* was born in his Reign, as he ſays himſelf in the *Alcoran*, *I was born in the Days of the Juſt King*.

[2] This was but a ſhort Ceſſation, for in the beginning of the fortieth Year *Moawiyah* began to rouze, and ſent *Ben Arthah* with three Thouſand Horſe towards that Province of *Arabia* called *Hejaz*, to ſeize upon its two principal Towns, *Meccah* and *Medinah*, where he had always kept a Correſpondence ever ſince *Othman*'s Death, and by this Means to open himſelf a Way into *Yemen*, or *Arabia the Happy*. *Ali*'s two Governours quitted each of them their reſpective Charges upon his Approach, for want of Forces ſufficient to make a Defence. So that *Ben Arthah* made the Inhabitants take the Oath of Allegiance to *Moawiyah*. He ſhed ſome Blood at *Medinah*, which gave the People an Averſion to *Moawiyah*'s Government; and proceeded in his March to *Arabia Fœlix*, where he put ſome Thouſands to the Sword.

All this while *Moawiyah* was in *Syria* at *Damaſcus*, and *Ali* at *Cufah*. *Ali* always praye[d] pub-

[2] *An Heg.* 40. cœpit Maii 16. A.C. 660.

ALI. An. Heg. 40. *cæpit Maii* 16. *A. C.* 660.

publickly for *Moawiyah*, *Amrou* and *Deboc*. *Moawiyah* on the other ſide prayed for *Ali*, *Haſan* and *Hoſein*.

[4] *Abidollah* foreſeeing very well that he ſhould be viſited by *Ben Arthah*, made the beſt Preparation he was able, but to no purpoſe. He made a Shift to eſcape himſelf, but left two little Boys behind him, both which *Ben Arthah* barbarouſly murdered. This Cruelty not only occaſioned great grief to the Father, but raiſed a juſt Abhorrence in every Body elſe. *Ali* was extremely touched, and curſed the Author of ſuch an horrible Outrage, begging of God to take away his Senſes and Underſtanding. They ſay, that towards the latter End of his Days he did really turn Fool, and was always calling for his Sword, which his Friends perceiving, gave him one made of Wood, and another hollow one full of Air; and that this poor Wretch imagined that ſo many Blows as he ſtruck with his wooden Sword againſt the other, he killed ſo many Men.

However, *Ali* did not omit the ſending *Jariyah* to purſue *Ben Arthah* with four Thouſand

[4] *D'Herbelot* is here miſtaken, for it was not, as he ſuppoſes, *Abdollah Ben Abbâs*, who was Governor of *Baſorah*; but *Abidollah*, Governor of *Yeman*, whom, as we have before noted, *Ali* put into that Lieutenancy as his firſt coming to the Caliphate. Beſides, how ſhould the Governor of *Baſorah* receive a Viſit from him in his Return from *Arabia Fœlix* into *Syria*?

Horſe;

ALI. An. Heg. 40. cœpit Maii 16. A. C. 660.

Horſe; but he had ſcarce ſet out towards *Yemen*, when the other was returning into *Syria*. At the ſame Time another great Calamity befel *Ali*, for his Brother *Okail* went over to *Moawiyah*, who received him with open Arms, and aſſigned him large Revenues. *Okail* alledged no other Pretence for his Deſertion, but only that his Brother *Ali* had not entertained him according to his Quality.

A little after the Battle of *Naharwan*, three *Karegites* of thoſe that were the moſt zealous for the Advancement of their Sect, met together at *Meccah*, and making frequent mention among themſelves of thoſe that were killed in the Battel; magnified their Merit and bewailed their Loſs. Theſe three Men, *Abdarrahmán* the Son of *Melgem*, *Barak* the Son of *Abdollah*, whom ſome Surname *Turk*, and *Amrou* the Son of *Beker*, ſaid one to the other, If *Ali*, *Moawiyah* and *Amrou* the Son of *Aáſi*, theſe erroneous *Imàms*, were dead, the Affairs of the *Muſlemans* would be in a good Condition. Immediately the firſt of them ſaid to his Companions, For my part, if you will, I will give you a good Account of *Ali*. The ſecond hearing this Diſcourſe, ſaid he would undertake to make a good riddance of *Moawiyah*; and the third promiſed the other two, to kill *Amrou Ben Aáſi*. Theſe three Men that were thus de-

devoted to execute their Deſign unanimouſly, pitched upon a *Friday*, (the Day of the ſolemn Aſſembly of the *Muſſemans*) which fell upon the ſeventeenth of the Month *Ramadan*: And after having poiſoned their Swords, every Man took his Road; the firſt that to *Cufah*, the ſecond that to *Damaſcus*, and the third that to *Ægypt*.

ALI. An. Heg. 40. *cœpit Maii* 16. *A. C.* 660.

Barak, one of the three Devotees being arrived at *Damaſcus*, ſtruck *Moawiyah* in the Reins, but the Wound was not mortal. The Surgeon that was called to ſee him, after having ſearched and conſidered it; gave him his choice, either to be Cauterized, or drink a Portion that ſhould render him incapable of Generation. *Moawiyah* without any Heſitation choſe the latter, and did in reality remain the reſt of his Days without having any other Children beſides thoſe which were born to him before he received his Wound.

The Aſſaſſin, who was inſtantly ſeized, diſcovered the Conſpiracy which he had made with his two Comrades, and was condemned to have his Hands and Feet cut off, and be ſuffered to live. He did live, and it is ſaid he married afterwards. But one of *Moawiyah*'s Friends being informed of it, ſaid that it was by no means reaſonable, that that Aſſaſſin who had hindered *Moawiyah* from having Children, ſhould

ALI. An. Heg. 40. cœpit Maii 16. A. C. 660.

ſhould have any of his own; and ſo killed him with his own Hands.

Amrou Ben Beker the ſecond of the Conſpirators was in *Ægypt*, on *Friday* the ſeventeenth of the Month *Ramadan*, the Day appointed to ſtrike his Blow; *Amrou Ben Aâſi* was then (fortunately for him) troubled with a fit of the Cholick, which hindered him from performing the Office of *Imám* in the *Moſque* that Day. Wherefore he appointed another, who ſupplied his Place, and fell down dead with the Blow, which the Aſſaſſin, who miſtook him for *Amrou*, gave him. This ſame Aſſaſſin, as he was led to Execution, ſaid without any concern, *I deſigned* Amrou, *but God deſigned another*. [8]Other Authors ſay, that when he was brought before *Amrou*, he aſked who that was. They told him *Amrou:* Whom then, ſaid he, have I killed? They anſwered *Charijah*. Then *Amrou* ſaid to him, *You meant* Amrou, *but God meant* Charijah.

[9]The third of theſe Conſpirators, *Abdarrahmàn*, had better Succeſs in the Execution of his wicked Deſign againſt *Ali*, than his other two Companions. For being arrived at *Cufah*, he took up his Lodgings at a Woman's Houſe, whoſe neareſt Relations had been killed at the the Battel of *Naharwàn*, and who for that Reaſon retained in her Heart a ſtrong deſire of be-

[8] *Abu'lpheda.* [9] *D'Herbelot.*

ing

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ing revenged upon *Ali*. *Abdarrahmán* finding this Woman in a Diſpoſition ſo favourable to his Deſign; uſed his utmoſt Efforts to gain her Favour, at the ſame time making her ſome Overtures of Marriage, to which ſhe anſwered: The Dowry which I will have of the Man that Marries me, ſhall be three Thouſand Drachms of Silver, a Slave, a Maid, and *Ali*'s Head. *Abdorrahman* inſtantly accepted the Conditions. And at the time when he undertook to put his Deſign in Execution, ſhe joined two other Men with him whoſe Names were [8] *Derwan* and *Sheith* to bear him Company.

Ali, during all this Month of *Ramadan* in which he was killed, had ſeveral Preſages of his Death, and uſed between times to let drop ſome words to that purpoſe when he was in private among his Friends. He was heard once to ſay, after he had undergone a great deal of Uneaſineſs; *Alas! my Heart, there is need of Patience, for there is no remedy againſt Death!* In ſhort, *Friday* the ſeventeenth of this Month being come, he went out of his Houſe early in the Morning to go to the *Moſque*, and it was obſerved that a great Number of Houſhold Birds made a great Noiſe as he paſſed through his Yard; and

[8] *Abulpheda* ſays, *Werdan* and *Shabib*. The ſame Letters may be read for both. *D'Herbelot* ſeems to have read it in *Perſian*, in which writing *w* is like *d*, and ſometimes *r*. But *Werdan* and *Shabib* are the right Names.

that

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that one of his Slaves having thrown a Cudgel at them to make them quiet, he ſaid to them, Let them alone, for their Cries are only Lamentations foreboding my Death.

As ſoon as he came into the *Moſque* theſe three Villains, who waited for him, pretended to quarrel among themſelves, and drew their Swords.

[8] *Derwán* made a Blow at *Ali*, but miſſed him, and the Blow fell upon the Gate of the *Moſque*. *Abdarrahmàn* ſtruck him upon the Head, juſt in the ſame place where he had received a Wound before in the Battel of *Abzàb*, which was fought in *Mahomet*'s time, and that Stroke was mortal. The three Aſſaſſins had time to make their Eſcape, without being Apprehended. [9] *Derwàn* crept home; where a Man who had ſeen him with Sword in Hand againſt *Ali*, went and killed him. *Shabib* betook him to his Heels, and ran ſo well, that he was never taken. *Abdarrahmàn* concealed himſelf for ſome time; and when *Ali* was aſked who was the Author of ſuch an enormous Attempt againſt his Perſon, he anſwered, You ſhall ſoon hear Tidings of him. In ſhort, a *Muſleman* having found *Abdarrahmàn* hid in a Corner, with his Sword in his Hand, aſked him if it was not he that had wounded *Ali*; the Aſſaſſin, willing to deny it,

[8] *Werdàn.* [9] *Werdàn.*

was

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was conſtrained by his own Conſcience to confeſs it; and was inſtantly brought before *Ali*. *Ali* delivered him in Cuſtody to his eldeſt Son *Haſan*, with Orders to let him want nothing, and that if he died of his Wound, he ſhould execute his Murderer at one Stroke only. *Haſan* punctually obeyed his Father's Orders, who died the 19th, or 20th, or 21ſt of the ſame Month, that is, the third, fourth, or fifth Day after he was wounded. This is the Account that the learned *D'Herbelot* gives of the Death of that Murderer out of his *Perſian* Authors, as I ſuppoſe. [5] *Tábari* and *Abu'lpheda* Authors of great Account among the *Arabians*, relate it after a quite different manner: *Abu'lpheda* ſays, "That "his Hand was cut off firſt, and then his Foot "on the oppoſite Side: Next they put out his "Eyes with a red hot Iron, then cut out his "Tongue, and afterwards burnt him," to which he adds, *the Curſe of God be upon him.* This Account I take to be much the more probable, conſidering the heinouſneſs of the Crime, and the Temper of that People. For though it is not at all improbable that *Ali* might give ſuch Orders, yet I can by no means be induced to believe that they were ever ſo mercifully executed. After what manner ſoever he was put to Death, the Hereticks look upon him as a Martyr.

[5] *Abu'lpheda.*

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As to *Ali*'s Age Authors differ, ſome ſay he was ſixty-three, others ſixty-ſix, and ſome fifty-nine. The Time of his Caliphate was five Years bating three Months; they are not agreed as to the Place of his Burial: Some ſay he was buried oppoſite to the Moſque in *Cufah*; others in the Royal Palace; others ſay, that his Son *Haſan* convey'd him to *Medinah*, and laid him by his Wife *Phatemah*. [2] The moſt probable Opinion is, that he was buried in that Place which is viſited by the *Muſſemans* to this Day as his Tomb, where there are a great many Oblations left by the Devotees.

As to his Perſon, he had a very red Face, large Eyes, a prominent Belly, a bald Head, a large Beard, very hairy upon the Breaſt, rather ſhort than middle-ſized; of a very good Look, florid and youthful, frequently ſmiling. He had in all nine Wives, the firſt of which was *Phatemah*, *Mahomet*'s Daughter, during whoſe Life he married no other. By her he had three Children, *Haſan*, *Hoſein* and *Mohaſſan*; this laſt died in his Infancy.

[3] The ſecond was *Omm-al Nebiyin*, by whom he had four Children, *Abdollah*, *Abbàs*, *Othman* and *Jaafar*, who were all four killed at the Battle of *Kerbelah*.

[2] *Abu'lpheda* ſays, that in this Opinion he chuſes to follow *Ebno'l Athrîr*. [3] *D'Herbelot*.

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His third Wife, named *Aſimah*, was the Mother of *Jahya* and *Aoun*.

The fourth, whoſe Name was *Omm-habibah*, was the Mother of *Omar*.

The ſixth, whoſe Name was *Caulah*, was the Mother of *Mohammed Ben Haniphiyah*, of whom we ſhall give a further Account in the Sequel of the Hiſtory.

I find no further particular mention of the Names of the reſt of his Wives; there are three more Sons, *Mahomet* the younger, and *Amrou*, who were born of ſome one or other of them.

Though here are but fourteen Sons mentioned here, it is certain he had fifteen, whereof only five left any Poſterity behind them; namely, *Haſan*, *Hoſein*, *Mohammed Ben Haniphyah*, *Abbas* and *Amrou*. As for the number of his Daughters they reckon eighteen.

This particular Account of his Family may ſeem ſuperfluous to ſome, but not to thoſe that conſider what great Changes and Revolutions have been made by it in the ſeveral ſucceeding Generations of the *Muſlemans*, and of what Importance it is throughout the whole courſe of their Hiſtory.

They report ſtrange things of *Ali*. One thing very particularly obſervable is, that his Mother was delivered of him in the very Temple itſelf

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of *Meccah*; which never happened to any one elſe. The Name that his mother gave him firſt, was *Caid*: But *Mahomet* his Couſin-German changed it into *Ali*.

[4] Among the Surnames, or honourable Titles, which the *Muſlemans* beſtow upon *Ali*, there are two principal ones; the firſt of which is *Wáſi*, which ſignifies in Arabick, Legatee, Mandatary, Executor of a Man's Will, and Heir, that is of *Mahomet*. His ſecond Title is [5] *Mortada*, or *Mortadi*, which ſignifies beloved by, or acceptable to God. They called him even whilſt he was alive *Eſed Alláh algalib*, *The victorious Lion of God*; to which may be added *Haidar*, which alſo in the Arabick Language ſignifies a Lion. The *Shii*, who are his Followers, or rather his Adorers, frequently call him *Faid alanwàr*, *The Diſtributer of Lights or Graces*. And in *Perſian*, *Shah Mordnan*, *the King of Men*, and *Shîr Khoda*, *the Lion of God*.

The greateſt Part of the *Muſlemans* pretend, that *Ali* was the firſt that embraced that Religion. And according to their Tradition he was indeed a very early *Muſleman*, for it ſeems he made Profeſſion of that Religion in his Mother's Womb. For all the time that ſhe was big of him he hindered her from proſtrating herſelf

[4] *D'Herbelot.* [5] From whence it is that our European Travellers corruptly call him *Mortis Ali*, which the Readers take to have been his Name.

before

before her Idol which ſhe uſed to worſhip. The Form of Benediction, or Bleſſing, which they always add when they name him, is *God glorify the Face of him.* They ſay, moreover, that *Mahomet*, talking of him, ſaid, Ali *is for me, and I am for him; he ſtands to me in the ſame Rank as* Aaron *did to* Moſes; *I am the Town in which all Knowledge is ſhut up, and he is the Gate of it.*

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However, theſe great Elogies did not hinder his Name, and that of all his Family, from being curſed, and their Perſons excommunicated through all the Moſques of the Empire of the Caliphs of the Houſe of *Ommiyah*, down from *Moawiyah* to the time of *Omar Ebn Abdalaziz*, who ſuppreſſed this ſolemn Malediction. There were beſides ſeveral of the Caliphs of the Houſe of *Abbas*, who expreſſed a great Averſion to *Ali* and all his Poſterity; ſuch as *Mótaded* and *Motawákkel*, to whom he is reported to have appeared in their Sleep and threatned with his indignation. On the contrary, the *Fatemite* Caliphs of *Ægypt* made his Name to be added to that of *Mahomet* in the Publication of the Times of Prayer, which they make on the Turrets of the Moſques.

It is ſaid, that the Sepulchre of *Ali* was kept hid during all the Reign of the Family of *Ommiyah*, and not diſcovered till under the Reign of

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the *Abbaſides*, which is not credible. *Adhaudedaulat* in the Year 367, of Chriſt 977, built a ſumptuous Monument over it, which the *Perſians* generally call *Konbud Faïd alanwar*, *The Dome of the Diſpenſer of Lights and Graces.* Now notwithſtanding the Sepulchre of *Ali* is ſo very well known, near the City of *Caſah*, there are ſome of his Sect who believe him to be ſtill alive, and affirm, that he ſhall come at the end of the World, and fill the Earth with Juſtice. There are ſome among them ſo extravagant as to make him a Divine Perſon. The more moderate ſay, that he is not truly God, but that in a great many Things he partakes of the Divine Nature.

Ali has a great Reputation for his Wiſdom among all the *Mahometans*. There is extant of his a *Centiloquium*, or *a hundred Sentences*; which have been tranſlated out of *Arabick* into *Turkiſh* and *Perſian*. There is likewiſe a Collection of Verſes under the Title of *Anwar Alokaïl*. We have in the *Bodleian* Library a large Book of his Sentences, a Specimen whereof we ſhall annex to this Hiſtory. But the moſt celebrated Piece of all is intituled *Jefr we Jame*; it is written upon Parchment in myſterious Characters intermixed with Figures, wherein are couched all the grand Events that are to happen from the Beginning of *Muſſemaniſm* to the end of the World.

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World. This Parchment is depoſited in the Hands of thoſe of his Family, and even to this Time no body has decyphered it in any ſort of manner but *Jaafer Sadek*. For, as for the entire Explication of it, that is reſerved for the twelfth *Imàm*, who is ſurnamed by way of Excellence, the *Mohdi* or *Grand Director*.

Beſides theſe Books which we have been ſpeaking of, we find in Authors ſeveral Sentences and Apophthegms, under the Name of *Ali*. The Author of *Rabi alakyar* quotes this, which is one of the moſt inſtructive; *He that would be rich without Means, powerful without Subjects, and Subject without a Maſter; hath nothing to do but to leave off ſinning and ſerve God; and he will find theſe three things.* One of his Captains having aſked him one Day with impudence enough, what was the Reaſon that the Reigns of *Abubeker* and *Omar* his Predeceſſors were ſo peaceable, and that of *Othman* and his own were ſo full of Troubles and Diviſions; *Ali* anſwered him very wiſely: *The Reaſon is plain, it is becauſe* Othman *and I ſerved* Abubeker *and* Omar *during their Reign: And* Othman *and I found no body to ſerve us but you, and ſuch as are like you.*

Some body told him one Day, that *Moawiyah* ſaid, that *Ali* and thoſe of his Houſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Bravery; *Zobéir* and his

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Family made a noiſe with their Magnificence; but that for his own Part and his Family's, they did not pretend to diſtinguiſh themſelves from others, or by any thing but their Humanity and Clemency. *Ali* anſwered thoſe that told him, that it looked as if *Moawiyah* had made uſe of Artifice in this Diſcourſe, as if he had a mind to ſpur on *Zobéir* and him with their Magnificence and Bravery; to the End, that the one throwing himſelf into a vaſt Expence, and the other into Hazards, they might not be in a Condition to oppoſe his Uſurpation: And he would gain the Affection of the People, by boaſting of the Sweetneſs of his Temper.

There is beſides in the Book Intituled *Rabi alakyar* another Maxim of *Ali*, which is very memorable and very contrary to the Conduct of thoſe who vaunt themſelves upon the account of their being of his Sect. *Take great care*, ſaid he, *never to ſeparate your ſelves from the Fellowſhip of the other* Muſlemans: *For he that ſeparates himſelf from them belongs to the Devil, as the Sheep that leave the Flock belong to the Wolf. Therefore give no Quarter to him who marches under the Standard of Schiſm, though he has my Turbant upon his Head, for he carries along with him the infallible Mark of a Man that is out of the way.* It ſhould be remarked here by the way that thoſe of the Sect of *Ali* have not only

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a Turbant made after a particular Faſhion, but that * they alſo twiſt their Hair after a manner quite different from the reſt of the *Muſlemans*.

Hoſain Waez alſo recites this Paſſage of *Ali*, in his Paraphraſe and Commentary upon the *Alcoran*; *God hath given Men two Imàms, that is to ſay, two Pontifs or Mediators between him and them. The firſt is the Prophet who is gone, and is no more among them. The ſecond which remains and ſhall continue always with them is the Prayer which they make to obtain pardon of Sins.*

Ali's Sectaries are called by the *Muſlemans*, (who intitle themſelves *Sonnites*, that is Obſervers of the Tradition, or Orthodox) by the ſcandalous Name of *Shii*, a Name that is formed from that of *Shiyah*, which ſignifies properly a ſcandalous reprobate Sect. For a Sect that follows approved Opinions, is called by the *Arabs Medheb*: But theſe Sectaries of *Ali*, of whom we are ſpeaking, do not call themſelves by that Name. On the contrary, they apply it to their Adverſaries, and call their own Sect *Addliyah*, which ſignifies the Religion of them that follow Juſtice and the right Side.

There have been ſome of theſe Partiſans of *Ali* diſperſed throughout all the Countries of the the Empire of the Muſlemans, who have from

* *D'Herbelot.*

time

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time to time raiſed very great Diſturbances. They have poſſeſſed ſeveral Eſtates both in *Aſia* and *Africa*: At this Day all the great Empire of the *Perſians*, and one half of the Princes of the *Uzbecks*, whoſe Dominions lye beyond the River *Gihon*, and ſome *Mahometan* Kings of the *Indies* make Profeſſion of this Sect.

Theſe are the principal Memoirs relating to that great *Caliph*; who, laying aſide all thoſe impertinent fabulous Stories which they tell of him, was, if he be conſidered with regard to his Courage, Temper, Piety and Underſtanding, one of the greateſt Men that was ever born in that Nation. The Inſcription of his Seal was, *The Kingdom belongs to the Only Mighty God.*

HASAN.

The Fifth from *MAHOMET.*

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AFter *Ali* had received his mortal Wound, and there was no room left for any Hopes of Recovery; his Friends that were about him enquired of him whom he would nominate for his Succeſſor. He told them, that he intended, with regard to that Affair, to follow the Example of the Apoſtle of God, who did not nominate any Succeſſor. That if it did pleaſe God to favour them, he would undoubtedly unite their Judgments in the making a good Choice. So it fell of Courſe without any Scruple to his eldeſt Son *Haſan*, a Man that inherited more of his Father's Piety than his Courage; and was reverenced not only upon the account of his near Relation to *Ali*, but becauſe he was very ſtudious of the practical Part of Religion, and accounted by all a very good Man.

[4] As ſoon as his Father *Ali* was dead, *Haſan*, it belonging properly to him as eldeſt Son to per-

[4] *Ebno'l Athir.*

form

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form that Office, ſtood up and ſaid to the People; *You have killed a Man* (meaning his Father) *on that ſame Night in which the* Alcoran *came down from Heaven, and* Iſa (Jeſus) *upon whom be Peace, was lifted up to Heaven, and in which* Joſhua *the Son of* Nun *was killed; by God, none of his Predeceſſors exceeded him, nor will any of his Succeſſors ever be equal to him.* [2] After this they proceeded to his Inauguration, which was begun by *Kais* in this Form. Stretch out your Hand, as a Token that you will ſtand by the Book of God, and the Tradition of the Apoſtle, and make War againſt all Oppoſers. *Haſan* anſwered, As to the Book of God and the Tradition of the Apoſtle, they will ſtand. Then the reſt came in, with whom he ſtipulated, that they ſhould be ſubject and obedient to him, and be at Peace with his Friends, and at War with his Enemies: But ſome of the *Irakians*, who were quite weary of the *Syrian* War, heſitated at that Condition, and ſaid, This Man will never ſerve you for a Maſter, we are for no fighting.

'Tis ſaid, that notwithſtanding the remiſſneſs of the greater Part, forty (and ſome ſay ſixty) Thouſand of *Ali*'s Men had bound themſelves in an Aſſociation before he was murdered, to ſtand by him to Death, and that he was making Pre-

[2] *Abu'lpheda.*

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paration to march at the Head of them. With this truſty Body of his Father's Troops, *Haſan* was perſwaded, contrary to his own Inclination, to inſiſt upon his Right, and renew the Diſpute with *Moawiyah*, who had *Syria*, *Paleſtine* and *Ægypt* in his Poſſeſſion, and was proclaimed *Caliph* in thoſe Countries, even before *Ali* was killed, and refuſed to acknowledge *Haſan*'s Title, becauſe he accuſed him of having been an Accomplice in the Murder of *Othman*.

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Haſan was by no manner of means qualified for ſuch an Undertaking, being naturally of a moſt peaceable Diſpoſition, and who looked upon the Effuſion of Muſlemans Blood with the greateſt Horror imaginable; but over-perſwaded he ſet upon his March, having ſent *Kais* before him with twelve Thouſand Men. *Moawiyah* was already upon his March towards them, and after a Skirmiſh between *Kais* and the *Syrians*, they reſted in Expectation of *Haſan*'s Arrival. [1] When *Haſan* came to *Madayan*, there happened a Tumult in his Army, occaſioned by the ſudden Murder of one of his Men, which was no ſooner proclaimed, but the whole Hoſt was in ſuch an Uproar, that without any Regard to his Diſtinction, he was not only juſtled from his Seat, but received a Wound. Upon this he retired into *Madayan* Caſtle, where the Go-

[1] *Ebno'l Athir.*

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HASAN. An. Heg. 41. exeunte Maii 6. A. C. 661.

vernour's Nephew propoſed to his Uncle to put him in Irons, and make a Preſent of him to *Moawiyah:* His Uncle gave him an hearty Curſe, and ſaid, *What would you betray the Son of the Daughter of the Apoſtle of God?* *Haſan* perceiving the People divided, and himſelf ill uſed and almoſt deſerted by the *Irakians*, weary of Fatigue and Diſturbance, wrote to *Moawiyah*, proffering to reſign the *Caliphate* to him upon certain Terms.

[1] *Hoſein* his younger Brother was utterly againſt *Haſan*'s Abdication, as being a Reflection upon, and Diſparagement to the Memory of their Father *Ali*; but *Haſan* well appriſed of *Moawiyah*'s Reſolution on the one ſide, and the Fickleneſs of his own *Irakians* on the other, [2] perſiſted in his Determination, and as it is ſaid, had written to *Moawiyah* before this laſt Battel, and propoſed ſome Conditions. That before *Moawiyah* had received his Letter, he ſent him a Blank Paper ſigned at the Bottom, and bad him write what Terms he pleaſed in it, and he would take Care to ſee them punctually performed. *Haſan* took the Paper and doubled the Conditions which he had mentioned in his Letter, and when he and *Moawiyah* came together, he inſiſted upon the Conditions written in the blank Paper: Which *Moawiyah* refuſed and

[1] Abulpharagius. [2] Tabari. Elmakin.

told

told him, that it was reaſonable he ſhould be contented with thoſe he had expreſſed in his Letter, ſince it was his own Propoſal. [3] The Articles that *Haſan* propoſed were theſe. *Firſt*, That *Moawiyah* ſhould give him all the Money in the Treaſury of *Cufah*. *2dly*, the Revenues of a [4] vaſt Eſtate in *Perſia*. *3dly*, That *Moawiyah* ſhould make no reproachful Reflection upon his Father *Ali*. *Moawiyah* would not conſent to the laſt Article. Then *Haſan* deſired that at leaſt he would forbear doing it in his hearing; which *Moawiyah* promiſed him, but did not perform. HASAN. An. Heg. 41. *cæpit Muii* 6. *A. C.* 661.

[5] The Conditions agreed upon, *Haſan* and *Moawiyah* went into *Cufah* together, when *Amrou Ebno'l Aſi* gave *Moawiyah* a Hint, that he thought it proper for him to order *Haſan* to ſtand up and teſtify his Abdication. *Moawiyah* did not approve of that Motion; but overcome with *Amrou's* Importunity, he commanded *Haſan* to do it. [6] Then *Haſan* ſtood up and ſaid, having firſt praiſed God; *O People! God, whoſe Name be magnified and glorified, directed you the right Way by the Help of the Firſt of our Family, and hath prevented the Effuſion of your Blood by the Means of the laſt of us.* Moawiyah *contended with me concerning a Matter, to which I had a*

[3] Abu'lpheda. [4] Dáráljerd. [5] Tabari. Elmakin. [6] Abulpheragius.

better

HASAN. An. Heg. 41. ineunte Maii 6. A.C. 661.

better Pretenſion than him; but I choſe rather to reſtrain the People from fighting, and ſurrender it to him. But even this Affair alſo hath a Time prefixed for its Duration, and the World is liable to Changes. Which laſt Words, as preſaging a Revolution, *Moawiyah* ſo diſreliſhed, that he immediately commanded *Haſan* to ſit down, and chid *Amrou* ſeverely for having preſſed him to it; nay, [6] ſome Authors go ſo far, as to ſay, that he was ſo exaſperated againſt him, as never to be heartily reconciled as long as he lived: For he knew very well that it was ſuperfluous for *Haſan* to acquaint the People with what they were all Eye-Witneſſes of: and that if he did ſpeak at all, it was more than probable, that he would leave a Sting behind him. *Haſan*, before his Departure, ſtood up and told the *Irakians*, that he had three Things to lay to their Charge: The Murder of his Father, The Affronts offered to his own Perſon, and The robbing him of his Goods. Now, though *Moawiyah* had promiſed him the Treaſury of *Cufah*, they refuſed to let him have it, inſiſting upon its being their Property, and therefore could not be alienated without their Conſent.

However that was no Hindrance to him, for *Moawiyah* poſſeſſed of the *Caliphate*, which was the only Thing he aimed at, never grudged him

[6] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

any

any Revenue whatſoever. He aſſigned him about an Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds a Year, beſides large Preſents. [7] He and his Brother *Hoſein* retired and lived privately at *Medinah*. He ſpent moſt of his vaſt Revenue in Deeds of Charity. So little was he attached to the things of this World, that twice in his Life-time he ſtript himſelf of all that he had: And three other ſeveral Times he divided half his Subſtance among the Poor.

HASAN. An. Heg. 41. *cœpit Mart.* 6. *A. C.* 661.

His Seal or Motto during his *Chaliphate* was; *There is no God but God, the true and manifeſt King.*

They differ as to the preciſe Time of his Reign; but moſt aſſign him about ſix Months, or a little over.

[8] Upon his coming to *Medinah*, he was blamed by ſome of his Friends there for having ſo tamely and eaſily reſigned; but the Followers of *Ali*, *Haſan* and *Hoſein* to this very Day look upon it as a ſingular Demonſtration of his excellent Diſpoſition, and Tenderneſs over the People, upon which account he had been before recommended by the Prophet. To thoſe that aſked him what induced him to reſign ſo eaſily; he anſwered that he was weary of the World: Beſides that the *Cufians* were ſuch a faithleſs People,

[7] *D'Herbelot.* [8] MS. *Hunt.* Numb. 495.

HASAN, An. Heg. 41. *cœpit Maii* 6. *A. C.* 661.

that never a Man of them ever truſted another, but he was a Sufferer by it: That never two of them concurred in their Opinion and Deſire of the ſame thing: Nor had they any regard either to Good or Evil: Beſides that their Behaviour towards his Father had quite turned his Thoughts from entertaining any the leaſt hopes of rectifying any thing that was amiſs through their Aſſiſtance; and to ſum up their Character, That they were the moſt thieviſh, miſchievous People in the world.

Though this is the true Character of the *Cufians*, yet they expreſſed a great Reverence for him; for when, as ſoon as he entertained thoughts of his Reſignation, he made this Speech to them, *We are your Commanders and your Chiefs, and we are of the Family of the Houſe of your Prophet, from which God hath removed Pollution, and whom he hath purified*; there was not a Man preſent in the Congregation, but wept ſo loud that you might hear him ſob; beſides they expreſſed their Concern with Tears at his Departure from *Cufah* to *Medinah*.

Whilſt he lived at *Medinah*, ſome of the *Karegites*, thoſe Hereticks that gave his Father ſo much Diſturbance, made an Inſurrection againſt *Moawiyah*, who wrote to *Haſan* to go out againſt them. *Haſan* deſired to be excuſed; and told him that he had left off all publick Affairs on pur-

purpoſe to avoid it; and that if he had cared for fighting at all, it ſhould have been againſt him.

HASAN. An. Heg. 41. *cœpit Maii* 6. *A.C.* 661.

At laſt in the Forty ninth Year of their Date, which falls in with the Six Hundred and Sixty ninth of ours, he died at *Medinah*, poiſoned by his Wife, who was ſuborned to commit that Wickedneſs by *Yezid* the Son of *Moawiyah*, upon promiſe of marrying her afterwards: But inſtead of that, ſhe was forced to be contented with a good Sum of Money, which *Moawiyah* gave her for her pains; for *Yezid* was not ſo mad as to truſt himſelf in her Embraces.

When the time of his Death drew near, his Phyſician, as he was walking backwards and forwards about the Room, and eying him narrowly, ſaid that his Bowels were eaten up with Poiſon. *Hoſein* his Brother begged of him, to tell him who it was that gave him the Draught, and ſwore that he would be revenged on him, if he could reach him, before his Burial. If not, he would ſend ſome body that ſhould. *Haſan* anſwered, *O Brother! The Life of this World is made up of Nights which vaniſh away; Let him alone till he and I meet together before God:* And refuſed to mention the Perſon. Some ſay that *Moawiyah* ſuborned ſome of his Servants to poiſon him.

HASAN. An. Heg. 41. *cæpit Maii* 6. *A.C.* 661.

He was born at *Medinah*, in the middle of the Month *Ramadan* in the third Year of the *Hegirah*. There is an infinity of Traditions concerning him and his Brother *Hoſein*; and no wonder, conſidering they were the Grandchildren of one reputed an inſpired Prophet by his only Daughter. Of *Haſan* they relate, that he was very much like his Grandfather *Mahomet*, who when he was born, ſpit in his Mouth, and named him *Haſan*. He uſed to expreſs his Fondneſs of him in his Infancy after ſuch a loathſome manner as cannot be repeated. When he was at Prayers, little *Haſan* uſed to come and clamber upon him, and *Mahomet* to humour him would hold him on, and [5] prolong the Prayers on purpoſe. Nay, ſometimes in the midſt of a Diſcourſe to the People, if he ſaw *Haſan* and *Hoſein* coming towards him, he would come down to them and embrace them, and take them up with him into the Pulpit; then, making a ſhort Apology in behalf of their Innocency and tender Age, proceed in his Diſcourſe.

[6] My Author ſays, "That the *Syrians* indeed "ſet up *Moawiyah* at *Jeruſalem*, becauſe there

[5] The *Mahometans* ſay their Prayers proſtrated, ſo that their Foreheads touch the Ground, though not all the while. And ſo we are to underſtand it in the old Teſtament, when it is ſaid of any one, *he fell down and worſhipped*; for the ſame Word that ſignifies Worſhip is uſed for a *Mahometan*'s ſaying his Prayers. [6] MS. *Hunt.* Numb. 495.

"was

HASAN. An. Heg. 41. *cœpit Maii* 6. *A. C.* 661.

" was none to oppoſe them, and the *Irakians* " ſet up *Haſan* againſt him, and had undoubt- " edly ſucceeded in their Attempt; if their " Miſmanagement and Diviſions among them- " ſelves had not fruſtrated it. But had they un- " derſtood aright, they would have magnified " the Mercy of God, in giving them the Apo- " ſtle's Grandſon. What we find in the Book " intituled, *The demonſtrations of Prophecy*, from " the Tradition of *Sephinah*, who was a ſervant " or freed Man of the Apoſtle of God, is a " Proof that he was the right Succeſſor. *Ma-* " *homet* ſaid, *The Chaliphate ſhall continue after* " *me thirty Years, and after that ſhall be a King-* " *dom.* Now *Mahomet* died in the Eleventh " Year of the *Hegirah*, and *Haſan*'s Abdication " was in the Fortieth: From whence it is plain, " not only that *Mahomet* is a Prophet, but that " *Haſan* is his rightful Succeſſor. That *Maho-* " *met* had praiſed him, for this his relinquiſhing " the preſent periſhing World, and deſiring that " other which is permanent, and ſparing the " Effuſion of the Blood of this People: That " *Mahomet* one Day mounted the Pulpit, and " *Haſan* ſat by him, which he frequently uſed " to do; and *Mahomet* looked ſometimes upon " him, and ſometimes upon the People: After " a Pauſe, he ſaid, *O People! This Son of mine is* " *Lord, and God ſhall unite by his Means two*

HASAN. An. Heg. 41. *capit Maii* 6. *A. C.* 661.

"*great contending Parties of the* Muſlemans." This laſt is from *Albochâri*, the great Collector of the Traditions of *Mahomet*.

I have not yet been able to find out who this Author is from whom I have taken this laſt Argument, becauſe the Book is imperfect both at the Beginning and the End, and I could never find any other Copy of him: But he hath been of ſingular Uſe to me throughout the whole Courſe of this Hiſtory to the Life of Merwan *the Son of* Hakem, *where the Copy fails. I find in another Paſſage, that he was himſelf the Author of the Book of the* Demonſtrations of Prophecy *which he mentions. He alſo affirms, that he wrote another Treatiſe to prove that it was impracticable for* Mahomet *to marry* Abu Sophyan's *Daughter, of which more afterwards. Whoſoever he was, it is certain he was a great* Imàm. To return to our Hiſtory.

[7] A Woman once having preſented him with a Bunch of fine Herbs; he aſked her, if ſhe was a Free-woman; the Woman told him ſhe was a Slave, but that the Preſent ſhe had made was rare and curious. *Haſan* gave her her Liberty, and ſaid to thoſe that were preſent, *We have received this Inſtruction from God himſelf, that we ought to give to thoſe that make us Preſents ſomething of more Value than that which*

[7] *D'Herbelot.*

they

HASAN. An. Heg. 41. *cæpit Mail* 6. *A. C.* 661.

they give us; meaning, that this moral Inſtruction is couched in the *Alcoran*, which the Muſlemans, blind as they are, look upon as the Word of God.

They relate a wonderful Inſtance of the *MODERATION* of this *Chaliph*. A Slave having ſpilled a Diſh of ſcalding Broth upon him as he ſat at Table, threw himſelf down inſtantly at his Knees, and repeated to him theſe Words of the *Alcoran*, *Paradiſe is open to thoſe that govern their Paſſion*. *Haſan* anſwered him, I am not at all in a Paſſion. The Slave went on, *And to thoſe who pardon Offences:* I pardon you yours, ſaid *Haſan*. The Slave went on to the End of the Verſe, which ſays, *God loves thoſe above all who do good to them that have offended them*. *Haſan* concluded too; Since it is ſo, I give you your Liberty and four Hundred Drachms of Silver.

There is an Author, who treating concerning *Haſan*'s Death, ſays, that it was contained in the Treaties between him and *Moawiyah*; that *Moawiyah* ſhould never declare a Succeſſor ſo long as *Haſan* lived, but ſhould leave the Election in the Hands of a certain Number of Perſons, of which *Haſan* was to have the Nomination, as *Omar* had done before. But that *Moawiyah* deſirous of leaving the *Chaliphate* to

HASAN. his Son *Yezid*, thought he could not bring his
An. Heg. 41. *expit Maii* 6. *A. C.* 661. Deſign about ſo long as *Haſan* was alive.

He had twenty Children, fifteen Males and five Daughters. [3] Though his Wives were all of them remarkably fond of him, yet he was apt very frequently to divorce them and marry new ones. There are ſome among the Sectaries of *Ali* who draw the Line or Deſcent of the *Imams* from *Abdollah*, one of his Children, who had a Son named *Yahya*;* but the *Perſians* will have the Succeſſion to paſs from *Haſan* to his younger Brother *Hoſein*.

The Muſſemans quote this Sentence *of* Haſan; *The Tears which are let fall through Devotion ſhould not be wiped off, nor the Water which remains upon the Body after legal waſhing; becauſe this Water makes the Face of the Faithful ſhine, when they preſent themſelves before God.*

[4] He died at the Age of Forty Seven Years, in the Month *Sefer* of the Forty Ninth Year of the *Hegirah*. He left Directions in his Will for them to bury him near his Grandfather *Mahomet*: But to prevent any Diſturbance, and leſt he ſhould be carried to the common Burial Place, he thought it proper to aſk *Ayeſha*'s Leave, which ſhe granted. But when he was dead, *Saëd*, who was Governour of the Town,

[3] MS. *Hunt.* ubi ſuprà. *D'Herbelot.* * *Ebno'l Athir.*

and

and *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem*, and all the whole Family of the Houſe of *Ommiyah* that were then at *Medinah*, oppoſed it. Upon which the heats between the two Families aroſe to a great Height: At laſt, *Ayeſha* ſaid, that it was her Houſe, and that ſhe would not allow him to be buried there. Wherefore they laid him in the common Burying Place. When *Moawiyah* heard of *Haſan*'s Death, he fell down and worſhipped.

HASAN. An. Heg. 41. *cœpit Maii* 6. *A. C.* 661.

The

The Chaliphs *of the Family of* Ommiyah, *which are fourteen in all, the firſt of which is,*

MOAWIYAH,

The Son of Abu Sophyan.

Being the Sixth from *MAHOMET.*

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 41. *cæpit Maii* 6. *A. C.* 661.

ALL Oppoſition removed, *Moawiyah* takes entire Poſſeſſion of the *Chaliphate*. The Family of *Haſhem*, of which were *Mahomet* and *Ali*, [7] lay like Coals raked up in Embers not able to ſtir. The Hearts of the People were entirely in the Intereſt of *Hoſein* the younger Brother of *Haſan*, but *Moawiyah* had Poſſeſſion and the Army. He was indeed a Man of great Abilities and ſteady Conduct; but before we proceed to give an Account of his Government, it will not be amiſs to enquire a little into his Original.

His Father *Abu Sophyan* was one of the Heads of the noble Tribe of the *Coreiſh*, of which was *Mahomet*; and as ſoon as *Mahomet* took up

[7] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

Arms,

Arms, not ſo much for the Defence as for the Propagation of his pretendedly inſpired Religion, *Abu Sophyan* was made Generaliſſimo of the Infidels againſt him: and after the Battel of *Beder*, he ſtood very fair for the Headſhip of that Tribe. He wanted nothing to recommend him; his Courage, his Gravity and immenſe Riches, ſet him above all Competition. But [6] at laſt he was convinced, (as it ſhould ſeem, by a ſignal Victory gained by *Mahomet* over his Enemies,) of the Truth of his Pretenſions. This was no ſmall Acceſſion to *Mahomet*'s Intereſt, who had been ſufficiently galled and haraſſed by the *Coreiſh*. *Moawiyah* and his Wife came in the ſame Day. *Abu Sophyan* after his Converſion to *Mahometaniſm* begged three things of *Mahomet*. The firſt was, that, to make Amends for former Offences, as he had commanded the Forces of the Infidels againſt the true Religion, he might now have the Honour of having the Command of the Army of the Faithful againſt the Infidels; which was granted. His ſecond Petition was, that his Son *Moawiyah* might be his Secretary. To which *Mahomet* aſſented. The third was, that the Apoſtle would vouchſafe to marry his ſecond Daughter *Gazah*; for which *Mahomet* begged his Excuſe. Our Author ſays, it was not lawful; but forbears the Reaſon, becauſe he

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 41. *cœpit Maii* 6. *A. C.* 661.

[6] *Yaumal phethi*. The Day of Victory.

ſays,

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 41. *cœpit Maii* 6. *A.C.* 661.

says, as we have observed before, he hath written a particular Treatise relating to that Affair.

[1] *Moawiyah* was no sooner settled in his Government, but the *Karegites*, Enemies to all Government both Ecclesiastical and Civil, began to infest him: They always were of Opinion that the Person who was to preside in Spirituals, should not be one of Man's making, nor descend by any Succession; but whose Spirituality should recommend him to the Approbation of the Godly. Upon *Hasan*'s refusal to take up Arms, *Moawiyah* sent the *Syrians* against them: but the *Separatists* beat the *Syrians*. So he applied himself to his new Subjects the *Cufians*, and the Inhabitants of all those Parts of *Babylonia*, and told them that now was their time to give him Proof of the Sincerity of their Obedience, that he should have no Security of their Loyalty, unless they vigorously opposed this Rebellion. They having taken Arms, the *Separatists*, would have persuaded them to desist, and asked them whether or no *Moawiyah* was not their common Enemy. Let us alone, said they, to make War upon him: If we kill him, we have ridded you of your Enemy: If he kills us, you are rid of us. The *Cufians* did not think it proper to hearken to their Advice, and the

[1] *Ebnol Athir.*

War

War was ſoon ended by the ſuppreſſion of the Rebels. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 43. *cœpit Apr.* 4. *A. C.* 663.

[7] We meet with little worth obſerving after this till the three and fortieth Year. [8] which was remarkable for the Death of the famous *Amrou*, of whom it is reported by Tradition, that *Mahomet* ſaid, *There is no truer* Muſleman, *nor more ſtedfaſt in the Faith than* Amrou. He was in the Wars of *Syria*, where he behaved himſelf with ſingular Courage and Reſolution. Always excellent in his Advice, and ſteady in the Execution. Afterwards *Omar* ſent him into *Ægypt*, which he Conquered, and was made Lieutenant there. *Othman* continued him in that Poſt four Years, and then removed him: Upon which he retired and lived privately in *Paleſtine*. After *Othman*'s Death, he went over to *Moawiyah* upon his Invitation; and had a great ſhare in all that Controverſy between *Ali* and *Moawiyah*, who continued him in the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt* till his Death, allowing him all the Revenues of that rich Country, upon Condition that he ſhould maintain the Forces that were kept there.

He was juſtly reckoned one of the moſt conſiderable Men among the *Arabians*, both upon the account of the quickneſs of his natural Parts,

[8] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. *An. Heg.* 43. cœpit. Ap. 14. A. C. 663.

his

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 43. cœpit Apr. 4. A.C. 663.

his Valour and good Judgment. Before he turned *Mahometan*, he was one of thoſe three Poets that uſed to write Lampoons upon *Mahomet*, in which he excelled. There are ſome fine Proverbs of his remaining (they are my Author's words for we never ſaw them) and good Verſes. His dying Speech to his Children, is Pathetick and Maſculine. If I had had a more perfect Copy of it, I would have inſerted it. He laments in it very much, his ever having exerciſed his Wit in expoſing the Prophet.

The ſame Year died *Abdollah Ben Salem* a Jewiſh Rabbin, who had turned *Mahometan* betimes: He uſed to ſay that when *Mahomet* came firſt to *Medinah*, he uſed to preſs amongſt the Crowd to get a ſight of him; and that at the firſt glance he perceived that he had nothing in his Countenance that looked like an Impoſtor.

[3] We have before obſerved, that *Ziyàd* was in *Ali*'s Reign made Lieutenant of *Perſia*. Which Office he diſcharged very much to his own Reputation, and the Advantage of the People. He was a Man of incomparable Parts, and prodigious greatneſs of Spirit. He was *Moawiyah*'s Brother by the Father's ſide, but a Baſtard; And old *Abu Sophyan* durſt not own him for fear of *Omar*'s Severity. He was born in the Year of the *Hegirah*, and as he grew up

[3] *An Heg.* 44. cœpit Apr. 3. A.C. 664.

quickly

quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by his great Abilities and maſterly Eloquence, to ſuch a degree, that once in the Reign of *Omar* at a meeting of the *Companions*, he was ſo much taken notice of, that *Amrou* ſaid; had the Father of this Youth been of the Family of the *Coreiſh*, he would have driven all the *Arabians* before him with his Walking-Stick. *Moawiyah* was reſolved to ſecure him in his Intereſt; and he thought no way ſo proper, as by owning him publickly to be his Brother. *Ziyàd* in *Omar*'s time was made a *Cadi* or Judge; and when Witneſſes came before him, accuſing *Almogéirah* of Incontinency; whether out of Favour, or becauſe they failed in their Proof, he diſmiſſed *Almogéirah*, and ſcourged the Witneſſes ſeverely. This endeared him to *Almogéirah* for ever after. *Ziyàd* having been placed in the Lieutenancy of *Perſia* by *Ali*, upon *Haſan*'s Reſignation to *Moawiyah*, he kept at a diſtance, and refuſed to acknowledge his Government. This gave *Moawiyah* no ſmall uneaſineſs, who was extremely afraid that *Ziyàd* ſhould ſtrike in with the Family of *Haſhem*, and embroil his Affairs by renewing the War. *Moawiyah* had given the Lieutenancy of *Cufah* to *Almogéirah*; who making him a Viſit in the forty ſecond Year, *Moawiyah* acquainted him with the Cauſes of his Uneaſineſs; who aſked his leave to go to him, to which he conſented, and

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 44 *cœpit Apr.* 3 *A. C.* 664.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 44. *cœpit Apr.* 3. *A. C.* 664.

and ſent a civil Letter by him with a kind Invitation. *Mogeirah* made ſo good Uſe of his Friendſhip with *Ziyàd*, that he never ceaſed importuning him till he had prevailed upon him to go along with him to *Moawiyah*. Where he was no ſooner arrived, but he immediately acknowledged him *Chaliph*. Soon after which, *Moawiyah* owned him to be his Brother by his Father's ſide, which was done by producing the Evidence of the Converſation between *Ziyàd*'s Mother and *Abu Sophyan*.

Abu Sophyan, in the Days of Ignorance, before drinking Wine was made a Sin by the *Alcoran*, travelling in *Thayef*, refreſhed himſelf at a Publick Houſe; where he lay with this *Ziyàd*'s Mother who was then married to a *Greek* Slave. The old Man that kept the Houſe was yet Alive; and *Moawiyah*, to own *Ziyàd* in as publick a manner as might be, upon a ſet Day in a full Aſſembly, examined him, touching the Converſation of *Abu Sophyan* with *Somyah*. The old Man gave in ſuch a ſtrong Evidence, as would have paſſed for a very good Proof in the Caſe of Impotency. *Ziyàd* was angry, and ſaid that he was called for to bring Proof, and not Scandal. However by this means he was acknowledged to be a true *Arabian*, of the noble Blood of the Family of the *Coreiſh*; which though illegitimate, was a greater Honour than he could ever

ever otherways have obtained to: For let his Atchievements have been never ſo great, he muſt ſtill have undergone ſome Reflection upon the account of the Baſeneſs of his Original. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 44. *cœpit Apr.* 3. *A. C.* 664.

3 It is obſerved, that this is the firſt time that ever the Law, that is the *Alcoran*, was openly violated in a judicial way of proceeding. For the Child belonged to his legal Father, the *Greek* Slave that married his Mother: And *Mahomet* had left it as a Deciſion in ſuch Caſes; *The Child to the Blankets, and the Whore to the Stone.* That is, Bring up the Child, and ſtone the Whore. *Moawiyah*'s Relations ſtormed and were quite out of Patience, they ſaid that he had not only introduced a Son of a Whore into the Family, to the diſparagement of all their Kindred; but had raked into the Aſhes of old *Abu Sophyan* his Father, who had lived and died with a good Reputation. *Moawiyah* could bear all their Complaints very patiently. He knew he had gained his point, and ſecured entirely in his Intereſt the greateſt Man of the Age.

Abdollah the Son of *Amar* was at this time Governor of *Baſorah*; whom *Moawiyah* removed as unequal to that Charge, becauſe of the too great Gentleneſs of his Diſpoſition: For the Country was quite over-run with Thieves and Murderers for want of Diſcipline. He for his part never

3 *Ab'ulpheda.*

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 45. cœp. Mart. 23. A.C. 664.

cared to puniſh any, but inclined rather to win them by the ſweetneſs of his Temper, and a gentle Behaviour. The People, inſupportably afflicted with this Grievance, made their Complaint to *Moawiyah*; who put in *Hareth* for a little time; but quickly after made them amends [5] for *Abdollah*'s Lenity, by ſending them *Ziyàd* who drew the Sword and chaſtiſed their Inſolence with exemplary Puniſhments. When he came to *Baſorah* things were in ſuch a bad Condition that there was hardly any walking the Streets; but eſpecially in the Night, which was always full of Diſorder and Bloodſhed. He made a very ſevere Speech to them, at which he had an excellent Talent, being reckoned the beſt Orator next to *Ali*, [6] who never had any Equal. One of the Polite *Arabians* uſed to ſay That he never in his Life heard a Man ſpeak well, but he wiſhed he would have done, being in pain for him, leſt he ſhould fall beneath himſelf and ſpeak worſe; *Ziyàd* only excepted, for the more he ſpoke the more he excelled. In this Speech he acquainted them that he was very well appriſed of the lamentable Condition they were in, upon the account of theſe Diſorders: And that he was reſolved to put an end to them. He next publiſhed an Order, [7] forbidding any Perſon of what

[5] *An Heg.* 45. cœpit Mart. 23. A.C. 664. [6] MS. *Huni.*
[7] *D'Herbelot.*

Qua-

Quality ſoever to be found abroad in the Streets, or in any publick Place, after the Hour of Evening Prayer upon pain of Death. And to put his Order in Execution, he appointed a ſtrong Watch to go the Rounds, and put to the Sword every one they met out of their Houſes after that Hour. There were two Hundred Perſons killed the firſt Night, but five the Second, and no Blood at all ſhed in the Third. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 45. *cæp. Mart.* 23. *A. C.* 664.

Beſides the Lieutenancy of *Baſorah*, *Moawiyah* gave him thoſe of *Choraſan*, *Sejeſtan*, *India*, *Bahrein* and *Ammàn*. Not unadviſedly: For the more he committed to his Care, ſo much the lighter to himſelf was the Burthen of his Government. The very Name of *Ziyàd* made all the Villains within the Precincts of his Government tremble. He was not ſavage nor cruel in his Temper: But ſtrictly juſt, and abſolute in his way of governing: Impatient of the leaſt neglect of his Commands; and one that would not abate an ace of his Authority. But notwithſtanding all his Greatneſs, he met with a Rebuff in this five and fortieth Year; which it is uncertain how he would have reſented, if the Perſon that offered it had lived a little longer. [*] He had ſent *Hakem* the Son of *Amar* to take a place called Mount *Aſhal*; *Hakem* ſucceeded very well in the Enterprize, killed a great Num-

[*] MS. *Hunt.* Numb. 495.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg 45. cap. Mart. 23 A. C. 664.

ber of the Enemy; and brought off all the Riches of the Place. Upon this *Ziyà* ſends him word, that he had received a Letter from *Moawiyah*, the Emperor of the Faithful, commanding him to lay apart all the White and Yellow, meaning the Silver and Gold, belonging to this Spoil, that it might be put into the Treaſury. Now as to this Particular, there is a deciſive Rule in the *Alcoran:* There being [s] a Chapter made on purpoſe, occaſioned by a Mutiny among *Mahomet*'s Soldiers, about the diviſion of the Spoil. That is, that after any Victory there ſhall firſt be taken out a fifth Part of the Spoils to be reſerved for the Treaſury; and the reſt be divided among the Soldiers. *Hakem* ſtuck cloſe to the Text of the *Alcoran*, and ſent *Ziyàd* word that the Authority of the Book of God was ſuperior to that of the Emperor of the Faithful's Letter; and that hath it thus, *Though the Heavens and the Earth conſpired together againſt a Servant of God, who put his truſt in him, he would find him a ſecure place of Refuge, and a means of Deliverance.* Then he laid aſide the fifth Part according to the Text; and divided the Spoil among the Soldiers. After this, (for he expected no Mercy) he ſaid, *O God! if I be in thy Favour take me.* His Requeſt was granted; and he died quickly after.

[s] *Surat' alanphal.* The Chapter of Spoils; which is the eighth.

This

This ſame Year *Zeid* the Son of *Thabet*, one of *Mahomet*'s Secretaries when he dictated the *Alcoran*, died. He wrote that Copy which was uſed by the *Chaliphs* or *Imàms* at the Command of *Othman* the Son of *Affàn*. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 45. cœp. Mart. 23 A. C. 664.

[8] My Author had ſeen it, and adds, that all he had ſeen of his Writing was an extraordinary fair ſtrong Hand. This *Zeid* was a Man of the greateſt Parts of any in his Age. He learned *Hebrew* in fifteen Days, ſo as to be able to read the Books of the *Jews*. He learned *Perſian* of one of *Coſroes* his Ambaſſadors in eighteen Days; and he learned *Æthiopick*, *Greek*, and *Coptick* of one of *Mahomet*'s Slaves. He was fifteen Years old at the Battel of *the Ditch*. He was the moſt pleaſant facetious Man in the World at home, and the moſt reſerved when he went abroad. Once he ſaw the People coming from Prayers, and he made what Haſte he could to get out of the Way from them, like one that did not care to be ſeen. He uſed to ſay, *He that doth not reverence Men will not reverence God.*

This Year *Merwàn* the Son of *Hàkem* went on Pilgrimage to *Meccah*; he was Governor of *Medinah*.

[9] The next Year *Abdorrahmàn* Son of *Caled* the Great was poiſoned in *Syria*: Occaſioned

[8] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. [9] *Altabari. Moawiyah* I. *An. Heg.* 46. cœpit Mart. 13. A.C. 666.

36505 by

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 46. exp. Mart. 13. A. C. 666.

by *Moawiyah*'s Jealouſy. For the Soldiers, thoſe eſpecially who had been Witneſſes of his Father's Valour and Conduct, to whom he appeared no way inferior, favoured him to that degree that *Moawiyah* was afraid of him; and during his Abſence upon an Expedition againſt the *Greeks*, tampered with a Chriſtian Servant of his to Poiſon him, upon promiſe not only to remit him his own Tribute, but to give him the Lieutenancy of *Hems*. Upon *Abdorrahman*'s return, the Conditions were punctually performed on both ſides; but he did not long enjoy the Reward of his Perfidiouſneſs; for *Caled* the Son of *Abdorrahman* receiving Information of it, came into *Syria*, and revenged his Father's Death upon that wicked Slave: Upon which *Moawiyah* impriſoned him for a time; and made him pay the Money for the Expiation of Murther: Afterwards he diſmiſſed him, and returned to *Medinah*.

Not long after this, happened the Death of a very great Man among the Followers of *Ali*.[6] His Name was *Hejer*, a Perſon remarkable for his ſingular Abſtinence, Piety, and ſtrictneſs of Life, conſtant Purification according to the *Mahometan* Law, and exactneſs in obſerving the Hours of Devotion. He lived at *Cufah*. It was the Cuſtom for *Moawiyah* and his Lieutenants every *Friday* in their Harangues to the People to exceed in the Praiſe and Commendation of

[6] *Abulpheda.*

Oth-

Othman, and rail at and revile *Ali*. This was done by *Almogéirah* when he was Lieutenant of *Cufah*, more out of Complaiſance to *Moawiyah*, than any Inclination of his own. As he was one Day pronouncing theſe Reproaches againſt *Ali*; *Hejer* and his Company ſtood up, and interrupted him, and returned the ill Language back again upon himſelf: But *Mogeirah* paſſed it by and forgave them, without taking any further notice. *Ziyàd* was not ſo gentle upon the ſame provoking occaſion. He uſed to divide the Year into two equal Parts: Six Months he reſided at *Cufah*; the other ſix at *Baſorah*. Coming according to his Cuſtom to *Cufah*, in his Harangue he called *Ali* by the Name of *Abu Toráb*, which ſignifies in Arabick, *Father of Duſt, or Duſty* (for it is common with the Arabians to uſe the Word *Father* in ſuch Caſes.) This was the moſt acceptable Nick-name to *Ali* in the World, having been given him by *Mahomet* himſelf. *Hejer*, reſolved to affront him, ſtood up and ſaid, He ſeems to have deſigned a Compliment to *Ali*. This provoked *Ziyàd* to ſuch a degree that he immediately ſeized him, and thirteen more of his Companions, and ſent them in Chains to *Moawiyah*.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 46. *cæp. Mart.* 13. *A. C.* 666.

[3] But though this was the end of it; there were ſeveral preceding Provocations. For before this, *Hejer* being ſo Popular for his Piety, and

[3] *Ebno'l Athir.* MS. *Hunt.*

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 46. exp Mart. 13. A. C. 666.

ſuch an avowed Enemy to *Moawiyah*, and Friend of *Ali* and his Party; *Ziyàd* would have carried him along with him to *Baſorah* from *Cufah*; for fear he ſhould make any Diſturbance. *Hejer* ſaid that he was indiſpoſed. *Ziyàd* anſwered angrily, that he knew he was indiſpoſed as to his Religion, Heart and Underſtanding, adding with an Oath that if he dared to raiſe any Commotion, he ſhould have an Eye over him. Another time when *Ziyàd* was making a Speech to the People, he ſtood ſo long that the Hour of Prayer was come. *Hejer*, who was the ſtricteſt Man alive in all things belonging to the exerciſe of his Religion, cryed out *Salàt, to Prayers: Ziyàd* took no notice of it, but ſtill went on with his Diſcourſe. *Hejer*, fearing leſt the time ſhould be paſt, began the Prayers in the Congregation himſelf, upon which *Ziyàd* was forced to break off, and come down and joyn with them. This Affront he never forgave, looking upon it as a great Diminution of his Character, but wrote a long Letter to *Moawiyah*, aggravating the Matter, and deſiring that he might put him in Irons, and ſend him to him. This laſt Time *Ziyàd* was forced to take a Journey on purpoſe from *Baſorah* to *Cufah*, upon Information that *Hejer* and the Company had refuſed to acknowledge his Lieutenant there, and uſed to throw Duſt at him when he was in his Pulpit. This obliged *Ziyàd* to come back

to

to *Cufah*, where, cloathed in a Silk Caſſock, and a Veſt of Gold Brocade, he went into the Pulpit himſelf, and made a ſevere Speech to the People, telling them, He ſhould make but a very inſignificant Figure in his Poſt if he ſuffered his Authority to be thus ſet at nought and trampled upon, without making an Example of *Hejer*. In his Oration he frequently, as Occaſion ſerved, uſed theſe Words, *And it belongs to the Emperor of the Faithful*; at which *Hejer* took up an Handful of Duſt and flung at him, with theſe Words, *God curſe thee, thou lyeſt:* Whereupon *Ziyàd* came down and went to Prayers among the People. Then retiring to the Caſtle he ſent for *Hejer*, who refuſing to come, he ſent a Party to fetch him, between whom and *Hejer*'s Friends there was a little Skirmiſh with Stones and Cudgels, ſo that they did not carry him off that Time; but he was taken ſoon after and ſent to *Moawiyah*, attended with a ſufficient Number of Witneſſes to teſtify againſt him, that he had ſpoken reproachfully of the *Chaliph*, affronted the Emir *(Ziyàd)* and affirmed, that the Government did not belong to any of right, but only to the Family of *Ali*. *Moawiyah* ſent ſome Officers with Orders to put them to Death, and Authors differ as to the Circumſtance of their being admitted into his Preſence or not. *Gadrah*, a Village on the Back-

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 46. *cæp Mart.* 13. *A. C.* 666.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 46. Sept. Mart. 13. A. C. 666.

Back-ſide of *Damaſcus*, was the Place appointed for their Execution; and during their Stay there *Moawiyah* adviſed with his Friends how they ſhould be diſpoſed of. Some were for putting them to Death, others for diſperſing them through the ſeveral Territories of his vaſt Dominions. *Ziyàd* ſent him Word, that if he had any Occaſion for the *Kingdom* of *Iràk*, they muſt dye. The chief Men of the Court begged off ſix of them. When *Hejer* was come near the Place of Execution, he deſired Space to waſh himſelf, which he always punctually obſerved, after which he ſaid two ſhort Prayers, and riſing up, ſaid, If I had been afraid of Death I could have made them longer; but when he ſaw his Grave digged ready for him, his Winding-Sheet ſpread out, and the Executioner's Sword drawn, he was obſerved to tremble. Whereupon, being aſked if he did not ſay that he was not afraid: He aſked again, How ſhould it be poſſible not to be moved at ſuch a Proſpect? The Executioner bad him ſtretch out his Neck ſtreight; he anſwered he would not be aſſiſtant to his own Death. Then his Head was immediately ſtruck off; his Body was waſhed, and he was buried in his Chains according to his own Directions.

Ayeſha had ſent a Meſſenger to intercede for him, who arrived too late. Afterwards when *Moa-*

Moawiyah went to *Medinah*, he viſited *Ayeſha*, who ſaid to him from behind the Curtain, *What was become of your Compaſſion*, Moawiyah, *when you killed* Hejer *and his Companions? I loſe that, Mother*, ſaid he, *when I am abſent from ſuch Perſons as you are.* Moawiyah An. Heg. 4 cœpit Mai A. C. 666.

[1] About the latter End of the eight and fortieth Year, *Moawiyah* ſent his Son *Yezid* with a powerful Army to beſiege *Conſtantinople:* Our Authors, give us no Account of the Particulars of that Siege, but only mention three or four of the moſt eminent of the *Companions*, whoſe Zeal, notwithſtanding their great Age, prompted them to undergo ſuch Fatigue and Hazard. The Army ſuffered the Extremity of Hardſhip in their March; but they had a [2] Tradition ſufficient to encourage them, it being no leſs than a Plenary Indulgence; *Mahomet* having ſaid, *The ſins of the firſt Army that takes the City of* Cæſar *are forgiven.* Here it was that the famous *Abu Jyub* was killed, who had been with *Mahomet* at the Battels of *Beder* and *Obud:* His Tomb is held in ſuch Veneration, [3] that to this very Day the Emperors of the *Ottoman* Family go to it to have their Swords girt on, upon their Acceſſion to the Throne.

[4] In the fiftieth Year died *Almogéirah* the Governour of *Cufah.* There had been a great

[1] Anno 48. [2] MS. *Hunt.* Numb. 495. *Albochâri.*
[3] *D'Herbelot.* [4] *An Heg.* 50. cœpit Jan. 28. A. C. 670.

Plague

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 50. Epit. Jan. 28. A. C. 670.

Plague raging there, which made him retire; but upon its ceaſing he returned and died of it. He was an active Man, and of very good Parts; he had loſt one of his Eyes at the Battel of *Yermouk*, though ſome will have it that it was with looking upon an Eclipſe. He was accounted to be of the wrong Party, and one of the chief of them; for thus they reckon; there are five Elders on *Ali*'s Side. *Mahomet*, *Ali*, *Phatemah*, *Haſan*, *Hoſein*; and their Oppoſites are, *Abubeker*, *Omar*, *Moawiyah*, *Amrou* and *Mogéirah*.

The ſame Year *Kairwàn*, the Metropolis of that Province which is properly called *Africa*, was built, though not finiſhed till the fifty fifth Year. [7] It lies thirty three Leagues diſtant from *Carthage*, towards the *North Eaſt*, and twelve from the Sea: The Account they give of it is, that *Moawiyah* having conſtituted *Okbah* Governour of the Province of *Africa*, he put all thoſe to the Sword that had revolted from *Mahometaniſm*; for it was their Cuſtom upon the Approach of the *Saracen* Army to make Profeſſion of it, and upon their Departure to return to their old Religion again. The Place of the Governour's Reſidence before was in *Zeweilah* and *Barca*; wherefore *Okbah* reſolving to have a Garriſon thereabouts to keep them in Awe, pitched upon *Kairwàn*; and becauſe his March had been interrupted and perplexed by the Woodineſs of

[7] *Abu'lpheda. Golius in Alfergak* p. 162. *Ebno'l Athir*,

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the Country, which was full of wild Beaſts and Serpents; he felled all the Trees round about in that Neighbourhood, and beſtowed them in the Building: This City was of great Uſe to them for keeping the Country in Subjection; and it being remote from the Sea, and bordering upon the Deſart, rendered them ſecure from the Invaſions of the *Sicilian* and *Roman* Navies; ſo that afterwards it became a flouriſhing City, conſiderable not only for its publick and private Buildings, Riches and the like, but alſo for the Study of the Sciences and polite Literature. Moawiyah An. Heg. 5 cœpit Jan. 2 A.C. 660.

[7] This ſame Year is remarkable for the Death of one *Rahya*, who was one of the earlieſt Profeſſors of *Mahometaniſm*; he was not preſent at the Battle of *Beder*. *Mahomet* uſed to ſay of him, That of all the Men he had ever ſeen, *Rahya* did moſt reſemble the Angel *Gabriel*. [8] The Year after *Saëd Ben Zend* died; he was the laſt of thoſe (I think they were ten in all) that had a poſitive Promiſe of Paradiſe.

[9] About this time *Moawiyah*, who kept his conſtant Reſidence at *Damaſcus*, had a Fancy to remove *Mahomet*'s Pulpit thither from *Medinah*. He ſaid, That the Walking-Stick and Pulpit of the Apoſtle of God ſhould not remain in the Hands of the Murderers of *Othman*. Great

[7] *Abulpheda*. [8] An. 51, 52. [9] *Ebno'l Athir*. *Altabari*. It muſt be in the Year 54, for then there was an Eclipſe of the Sun.

Search

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 50. Epit. Jan. 28. C. 670.

Search was made for the Walking-Stick, and at laſt they found it. Then they went, in Obedience to his Commands, to remove the Pulpit; when immediately, to their great Surprize and Aſtoniſhment, the Sun was eclipſed to that Degree that the Stars appeared. This put them all into a great Conſternation, for they looked upon it as a manifeſt Indication of the Divine Diſpleaſure, for their preſuming to lay Hands upon the Apoſtle's Pulpit, in order to remove it from the Place where he had ſet it himſelf. This made them deſiſt from their Enterprize, and the *Medinians* were left in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of this holy Relick; till ſome Years afterwards, *Abdòlmélik* had a mind to it; but one of the *Medinians* ſaid to him, *For God's Sake do not attempt ſuch a Thing, for* Moawiyah *did but move it once and the Sun was eclipſed!* He urged beſides a Tradition from *Mahomet*, who had ſaid, *Whoſoever ſhall ſwear upon my Pulpit falſly, Hell ſhall be his Manſion.* And, added he, will you go and take it away from the *Medinians*, when it is the Deciſion of their Controverſies? Upon this Repreſentation *Abdòlmélick* forbore, and never mentioned it again. After him *Alwáled* in his Pilgrimage made the ſame Attempt, but when he ſent for it, his Meſſenger received this Anſwer, *Bid your Maſter fear God, and not expoſe himſelf to the Divine Diſ-*

Diſpleaſure; with which Anſwer *Alwâled* remained very well ſatisfied. Afterwards when *Solyman* the Son of *Abdòlmelik* came on Pilgrimage that Way, *Amrou*, the Son of *Abdolaziz*, was mentioning theſe things to him; *I do not love*, anſwered *Solyman*, *to hear theſe Things mentioned either of the Emperor* Abdòlmélik, *or of* Waled, *what have we to do with it? We have taken Poſſeſſion of the World, and it is in our Hands, and we will ſtand to the Determination of the Muſleman Doctors.* Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 43. cœpit Dec. 26. A. C. 672.

[2] And now the famous *Ziyad*'s Time was come. He died of the Plague on the third Day of the Month *Ramadàn* in the fifty third Year of the *Hegirah*, which was his Age. [3] A little before he died he wrote a Letter to *Moawiyah*, acquainting him that he had reduced all *Irâk* into perfect Subjection to him from *North* to *South*, and begged of him to give him the Lieutenancy of *Arabia Petræa*. It is ſuperfluous to add that it was granted, for it was not in *Moawiyah*'s Power to deny him any Thing, ſhall I ſay, or rather that it was his Intereſt to have him employed every where if poſſible. [4] As ſoon as the *Arabians* heard of it they were under the greateſt Concern in the World, for fear he ſhould exerciſe his Tyranny over them

[2] *An. Heg.* 53. cœpit Dec. 26. A. C. 672. [3] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. [4] *Ebno'l Athîr.*

as

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 53. *cœpit Dec.* 26. *A. C.* 672.

as he had done before upon the poor *Irakians*. Upon the firſt News of it, the Son of *Amer* roſe up and went to the Temple of *Meccha* to deprecate his coming amongſt them, [5] and the People prayed in Faith. *Ziyàd*, ſtruck with the Plague, felt ſuch an intollerable Pain in his Hand that he conſulted a *Cadi*, in point of Conſcience, whether it were better to cut it off or not. The *Cadi* told him, That he was afraid, if his Time was come, he ſhould go before God without that Hand, which was cut off to avoid the appearing before him; and if it was not come, he would remain lame among Men, which would be a [6] Reproach to his Child; wherefore he was of Opinion, that live or die he had better let it alone; and ſo left him. However, notwithſtanding this grave Deciſion, *Ziyàd*, impatient of the Pain which increaſed every Moment, was reſolved to have it cut off; but when he ſaw the Fire, and the Cauterizing Irons, his Heart failed him. It is ſaid, that he had about him no leſs than an Hundred and Fifty Phyſicians, three of which had belonged to *Coſroes* the Son of *Hormuz* King of *Perſia*, but it was not in their Power *to reverſe the ſealed Decree, nor the Thing that was determined.* He had been *Moawiyah*'s

[5] *Arab. Waonáſo Yúminúna.* [6] There is nothing more common among the *Arabians* than to nick-name Children from the Imperfections of their Parents, as to call ſuch an one the Son of the Lame, or the Son of the Blind.

Lieu-

Lieutenant over *Irâk* five Years. He was buried near *Cufah*, which he paſſed by in his Journey towards *Arabia*, in order to take Poſſeſſion of his new Government there. When *Abdollah*, the Son of *Amer*, heard of his Death, he ſaid, *Go thy way, thou Son of* Somyah; *this World did not ſtay with thee, neither haſt thou attained to the other.* Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 53. cœpit Dec. 26. A. C. 672.

Upon *Almogîrah*'s Death, *Moawiyah*, who could never do enough for his Brother *Ziyàd*, or rather for himſelf, added the Lieutenancy of *Cufah* to all thoſe vaſt Territories he had entruſted him withal before. He was the firſt that joyned thoſe two great Truſts of *Baſorah* and *Cufah* together. When he came firſt to *Cufah*, having left *Baſorah* to the Care of *Samrah*, in his firſt Speech he told the *Cufians*, That he once had Thoughts of bringing along with him two Thouſand of his Guards, but recollecting that they were honeſt Men, he had brought no other Attendance but only his own Family. They threw Duſt at him; upon which he ſat down and gave private Directions to ſome of his Domeſticks to ſeize the Doors of the Moſque. Then he commanded every Man to ſeize his next Neighbour without pretending to excuſe himſelf, by ſaying, he did not know who he was. This done, he placed himſelf upon a Seat near the Door, and had them brought before

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 53. *capit Dec.* 26. *A. C.* 672.

him four by four; he made every one of them ſwear diſtinctly, It was none of us four that threw Duſt. Thoſe that took the Oath he diſmiſſed, they that refuſed it were bound and laid aſide: When he had thus gone through the whole Congregation, there remained thirty, and ſome ſay fourſcore, that could not take the Oath, whoſe Hands were all immediately cut off upon the Place.

[6] Not long after he entered upon his Government, he iſſued out an Order that every Citizen ſhould leave his Door open all Night, engaging to be reſponſible for all the Damage that every particular Perſon ſhould receive that way; and it happening one Night that ſome Cattle getting into a Shop, had put ſome Things out of Order; as ſoon as *Ziyàd* was informed of it, he gave every one leave to have a Hurdle or Rake at his Door; which continued in Uſe ever after, not only in *Baſorah*, but in a great many other Towns of *Iràk*, of which he was Governour.

[7] One Night his Archers that were upon the Watch, having met with a Shepherd coming through the Town with his Flock, carried him before *Ziyàd*: The Shepherd excuſed himſelf upon the account of his being a Stranger, and ignorant of the Order, which he had cauſed to

[6] *D'Herbelot.* [7] *D'Herbelot* of *Khondemir.*

be

be publiſhed. *Ziyàd* ſaid to him, I am willing to believe that what thou telleſt me is true: But ſince the Safety of the Inhabitants of this Town depends upon thy Death, it is neceſſary that thou ſhouldeſt die; and inſtantly commanded his Head to be cut off. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 53. *cæpit Dec.* 26. *A. C.* 672.

[2] Now though *Ziyàd* was ſo ſtrict in ſeeing his Orders punctually executed, and ſevere in inflicting exemplary Puniſhments, yet his Behaviour was gentle in reſpect of that of *Samrah* his Lieutenant at *Baſorah*, who was abhorred by all Men for his Cruelty. *Ziyàd* himſelf was aſhamed of it. For during *Ziyàd*'s ſix Months abſence at *Cufah*, *Samrah* had put to Death no leſs than eight Thouſand Perſons at *Baſorah*. *Ziyàd* aſked him if he was not afraid leſt in ſuch a Number he might have put to Death one innocent Man. He anſwered, that he ſhould be under no concern, if at the ſame time that he had killed them, he had killed ſo many more. *Abu Sawàr* ſaid that he killed Seven and Forty of his Men one Morning, every one of which had got the *Alcoran* by heart.

Once as *Samrah*'s Horſe went out, they met with a Countryman, and one of them ſtruck him through with his Lance. They went on, and *Samrah* coming up after them, found the poor Man wallowing in his own Blood: En-

[2] *Ebnol Athîr.* MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 53. cœpit Dec. 26. A.C. 672.

quiring what was the Matter, he was anſwered, that the Man meeting the Front of his Horſe they had killed him. All that *Samrah* ſaid to it was only repeating this Verſe, *When you hear we are mounted beware of our Lances.*

When *Ziyàd* came to *Cufah* he enquired which was the moſt Religious Man there. They recommended to him one *Abulmogeirah*. He ſent for him and told him, that if he would keep within his own Doors, and not go out, he would give him as much Money as he deſired; the Religious told him, that if he would give him the Empire of the whole World, he would not omit going out to ſay his Prayers on the [3] *Congregation Day*. Well then, ſays *Ziyàd*, go to the Congregation, but do not talk about any thing. He ſaid he could not help [4] *Encouraging that which is good, and reproving that which is Evil*. For which Anſwer *Ziyàd* commanded him to be Beheaded.

A little before his Death, he gathered the People together, and filled both Moſque, and Street, and Caſtle with them, in order to impoſe upon them the Renunciation of *Ali*. Whilſt they were full of Vexation and Perplexity waiting for the Event, one of his Servants came out and told them, that they might go about their

[3] *Yaumo'l Jóm-ah*. i. e. Friday. [4] It is a Precept frequently repeated in the *Alcoran*.

Bu-

Buſineſs, for his Maſter was not at Leiſure. The Plague had juſt then ſeized him, and they all looked upon it afterwards as a Providential Deliverance. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 53. *cœpit Dec.* 26. *A. C.* 672.

[5] A Famous *Perſian* Hiſtorian reports, that a Letter written by *Ziyàd* to *Moawiyah*, when he aſked him for the Lieutenancy of *Arabia*, was expreſſed in theſe Terms. "My left Hand "is here Employed in governing the People of "*Irâk*: All the mean time my right Hand re-"mains idle. Give it *Arabia* to govern, and it "will give you a good account of it."

He adds, with ſome little Variation from my *Arabick* Author above-mentioned, that *Moawiyah* having granted him this Government, the principal Inhabitants of *Medinah*, who were afraid of his rough and violent Temper, were very much alarmed; and that *Abdollah* the Son of [6] *Zobeir* who was one of them made this publick Prayer to God. *Allahómma cĕtaphi yemin ziyádihi. O God! Satisfy this right Hand, which is idle and ſuperfluous to* Ziyàd. There is in theſe Words a very elegant Alluſion to the Name of *Ziyàd*, which ſignifies in *Arabick*, *Abundant* and *Superfluous*. And they ſay, that immediately after this Prayer there was a peſti-

[5] *Khondemir.* ſee *D'Herbelot* in the word *Ziad.* [6] My Author ſays *Abdollah* the ſon of *Amer.*

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 53. *cœpit Dec.* 26. *A. C.* 672.

lential Ulcer in one of his Fingers of his right Hand, of which he died a few Days after.

There was afterwards a Dynaſty of Princes of his Poſterity in *Arabia Fœlix*, who Reigned under the Name of the *Children of Ziyàd*.

There were ſeveral Perſons, both of the Sect of *Ali*, and of the *Karegites* or Hereticks that endeavoured to diſturb *Ziyàd*'s Adminiſtration, but theſe Commotions were ſoon extinguiſhed by his excellent Conduct. The Particulars are to be found at large in our Hiſtorians, but I have purpoſely omitted them, becauſe they would only interrupt the Thread of our Hiſtory; and contribute nothing either to the Character of any great Man, or the giving light to the Cuſtoms and Genius of the People.

This ſame Fifty third Year *Jabalah*, the Son of *Ayham*, the laſt King of the Tribe of *Gaſan*, who were Chriſtian *Arabs*, and of whom we have given a large account in the former Volume, died.

[8] We now return to *Moawiyah*, who in the Fifty fourth Year depoſed *Saëd* from the Government of *Medinah*, and reſtored *Merwàn* the Son of *Hakem* to it again. Then he wrote to *Merwàn* to demoliſh *Saëd*'s Houſe, and ſeize all his Effects that were in *Hejaz*. *Merwàn* came to execute the *Caliph*'s Command, and brought

[8] *Ebno'l Athîr* MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

his

his Mule along with him to carry away whatſoever he found of moſt Value. *Saëd* was ſurpriſed, and told him he hoped he would not ſerve him ſo. *Merwàn* anſwered, it muſt needs be ſo: Adding, if *Moawiyah* had commanded you to have pulled down my Houſe, when you were Governour, you would have done it. Upon this *Saëd*, produced a Letter of the *Caliph*'s to himſelf, when he was Governor, commanding him to demoliſh *Merwan*'s Houſe: Which out of Friendſhip he had ventured to diſobey, and by ſo doing incurred the diſpleaſure of the *Caliph*. *Merwàn* was ſurpriſed at this, and readily acknowledged the ſuperior Generoſity of *Saëd*'s Temper. They both eaſily perceived that this was only a Contrivance of the *Caliph*'s to ſet them at Variance, but it proved the occaſion of uniting them in a ſtricter Friendſhip. *Merwàn* never left interceding with *Moawiyah*, till he deſiſted from urging the Execution of that unjuſt Command. *Moawiyah* was himſelf afterwards aſhamed of his ungenerous Dealing, and aſked their Pardon. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 54. *cœpit Dec.* 15. *A. C.* 673.

This Year *Moawiyah* depoſed *Samrah*, who was *Ziyàd*'s Deputy over *Baſorah*. As ſoon as *Samrah* heard the News he ſaid, *God curſe* Moawiyah: *If I had ſerved God ſo well as I have ſerved him, he would never have damned me to all Eternity.* One of my Authors tells this without

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 54. cœpit Dec. 15. A.C. 673.

any reſerve: Another ſeems to ſcruple the truth of it.

Ziyàd being dead, *Obeidollah* his Son came to pay his Duty to *Moawiyah*, who received him very courteouſly, and enquired of him concerning the Characters and Behaviour of his Father's Deputies in their reſpective Provinces. He gave him ſuch a ſatisfactory Account, that he made him Lieutenant of *Choraſan*, when he was but Five and twenty Years Old. He went to his Charge, and paſſed over the River as far as the Mountains of *Bochára*. There he encountered the *Turks*, and having fought them bravely, he put them to ſuch a precipitate Flight, that the *Turkiſh* Queen had only time to put on one of her Buſkins, and left the other behind her to the *Arabians*, who valued it at two Thouſand pieces of Gold.

[4] *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyàd* did not continue long in his Lieutenancy of *Choraſan*, but was removed to *Baſorah*; inſtead of *Abdollah* the Son of *Amrou*, who was there before. The Occaſion was this. A leading Man of one of the Tribes of the *Arabs* threw Duſt at him, whilſt he was Preaching. He followed *Ziyàd*'s Example, and commanded his Hand to be cut off. Upon this ſome of the ſame Tribe came to *Abdollah* and told him, that if the Emperor of the

[4] *An. Heg.* 55. cœpit Dec. 5. A. C. 674.

Faith-

Faithful ſhould know that he had cut off the Man's Hand for ſuch an Action, he would deal with him, and all that belonged to him, as he had done by *Hejer* and his Companions. Wherefore, added they, give it us under your hand, that you did it indiſcreetly. This he fooliſhly complied with, imagining to pacify them by doing it, whom he knew to be ſufficiently provoked. They kept the Paper by them for a time, and went with it afterwards to *Moawiyah*, complaining that his Deputy over *Baſorah* had cut off their Maſter's Hand upon an Uncertainty; and deſired of him to execute the Law of Retaliation upon him. [3] *Moawiyah* ſaid, they could have no Retaliation againſt his Deputy; but a Mulct they ſhould have: Which was accordingly paid out of the Treaſury. And *Abdollah*, to ſatisfy them, was depoſed from his Lieutenancy, and *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyàd* ſubſtituted in his Room. *Obeidollah* left *Choraſan* to one *Aſlam* a worthleſs Man, who did nothing in the Place that deſerves notice. This ſame Year *Merwan*, the Son of *Hakem*, and Governor of *Medinah*, conducted the Pilgrims to *Meccah*.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 55. *cœpit Dec.* 5. *A. C.* 674.

[4] The next Year *Moawiyah* made *Saëd*, who was *Othman*'s Grandſon, Lieutenant of *Chora-*

[3] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. [4] *An Heg.* 56. cœpit Nov. 24. A.C. 675.

ſan,

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 56. cœpit Nov. 24. A. C. 675.

ſan, who paſſing over the River *Jihon*, formerly *Oxus*, went to *Samercand*, [1] (afterwards the Capital of the great *Tamerlane*) and *Sogd*. Having there routed the Idolaters he went to *Tarmud*, which ſurrendered to him.

Hitherto the Government had been Elective; but *Moawiyah* deſigned if poſſible to ſecure the Succeſſion in his own Family, and make it Hereditary. [2] For this end he uſed all the means imaginable to oblige the People to declare his Son *Yezid* his Heir and Succeſſor. He entertained ſome thoughts of it formerly in the Days of *Almogéirah*. It ſeems *Almogéirah* had come to *Moawiyah*, to beg leave to reſign the Lieutenancy of *Cufah*; which *Moawiyah* granted him, in conſideration of his great Age and Infirmities; and deſigned to put *Saëd* the Son of *Aas* into his Place. When *Almogéirah* heard this, he repented himſelf of what he had done: and adviſed *Yezid* to go to his Father, and deſire him to nominate him his Heir. Upon his coming with this Advice, *Moawiyah* aſked him who bad him do ſo. He told him *Almogéirah*; which ſurpriſed *Moawiyah*, and he reſtored him immediately to his Lieutenancy of *Cufah*. However this Propoſal wrought upon *Moawiyah*'s Thoughts ſo, that he wrote to *Ziyàd* to aſk his Advice about it; who did not approve of it by

[1] *Abu'lpheda.* [2] MS. *Hunt.*

any

any means, because he knew that *Yezid* was a profligate young Fellow, wholly given up to Sporting, Gaming and Drinking. Wherefore he sent an intimate Friend of his to *Damascus*, to divert both the Father and the Son from this Project. This Friend first applied himself to *Yezid*, and satisfied him that it would be much better to desist, at least for the Present: Afterwards he talked with *Moawiyah*; till at last they concluded to lay it aside. Thus it rested so long as *Ziyàd* lived, till now in this Fifty sixth Year, *Moawiyah*, who was always fond of it, from the time it was first mentioned to him, received it again in good earnest, and wrote circular Letters about it to all the Provinces: The *Syrians* and *Irákians* came in to it. *Malec*, who was then Governor of *Medinah*, would have had him proclaimed in that City Heir Apparent to his Father: But *Hosein* the Son of *Ali*, *Abdollah* the Son of *Amer*, *Abdorrahmàn* the Son of *Abubêker* and *Ayesha*'s Brother, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, absolutely refused it. Their refusal kept the People back. *Moawiyah*, to encourage the Matter with his Presence, went in Person to *Medinah*, with a Thousand Horse. He had a Conference with *Ayesha* about it, and the Result was, that the People in general of the Province of *Hejaz* came in; but those four before mentioned with their Adherents stood it out to the

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 56. *cœpit Nov.* 24. *A. C.* 675.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 56. cœpit Nov. 24. A. C. 675.

the laſt; though *Moawiyah* bluſtered in the Moſque, and would have terrified them if he could; they ſtood their ground reſolutely, and let him ſee by their Anſwers that they deſpiſed his Threats; and though he was vehemently angry, he durſt not offer any violence, for they were too conſiderable, and too Popular to ſuffer any Compulſion.

[5] After this *Moawiyah* (or *Moawie*) took an opportunity of ſaying to his Son *Yezid*, "Look "you, you ſee I have made the Way plain be- "fore you: There is none that refuſes to come "in, except only theſe four. *Hoſein* has the "*Irakians* in his Intereſt, who will never let "him reſt at quiet till they draw him out into "the Field: Remember he is your near Re- "lation, and a Man of a perfect Merit, where- "fore if he comes under your Power let him "go. *Abdollah* the Son of *Amer* is a Man whol- "ly given up to Devotion; and when no body "elſe ſtands out he will come in. As for *Ab-* "*dorrahmàn*, he is a Man that is guided wholly "by Example, what he ſees other People do, "that he does too. He minds nothing but Wo- "men and Play. But the Man that will attack "thee with the Strength of the Lion, and the "Subtilty of the Fox, is *Abdollah* the Son of

[7] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

"*Zobéir*,

" *Zobéir*; if you get him into your Power, cut " him all to Pieces."

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 58. cœpit Nov. 2. A. C. 677.

[6] In the Fifty eighth Year died *Ayeſha*, *Abubeker*'s Daughter, who had that Name from her; for *Becr* in *Arabick* ſignifies a Girl, and *Abu*, Father. *Mahomet* marrying his Daughter *Ayeſha* when ſhe was very Young, his Name was changed into *Abubecr*, that is the Father of the Girl. She ſurvived her Huſband *Mahomet* a long time, who died in the Eleventh Year of the *Hegirah*. She was always treated with the utmoſt Reſpect, except only that time when ſhe expoſed herſelf in that Expedition againſt *Ali*. Sometimes ſhe was called *Propheteſs*, and generally when any one ſpoke to her, he qualified her with the Title of *Mother of the Faithful*. Her Brother *Abdorrahmàn* one of thoſe four that ſtood out againſt *Yezid*'s Inauguration, died this ſame Year.

[7] The next Year died *Abu Hureirah*, that is the *Father of the Cat*; ſo Nick-named by *Mahomet*, becauſe of his fondneſs of a Cat, which he always carried about with him. He was called ſo conſtantly by this Name, that his true Name is not known, nor his Pedigree. He was ſuch a conſtant Attendant upon *Mahomet*, that there are a great many Traditions go under his

[6] *An Heg.* 58. cœpit Nov. 2. A. C. 677. *Abu'lphæda.*
[7] *An. Heg.* 59. cœpit Oct. 22. A. C. 678.

Name.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 59. cœpit Nov. 22. A. C. 678.

Name. So many, that the Multitude of them make People ſuſpect them: Though others receive them all, as of an undoubted Authority, without the leaſt Heſitation.

[1] I find nothing worth remarking between this great Attempt of *Moawiyah*, in changing an elective Monarchy, into an Hereditary one, and his Death. Great it may very juſtly be called, conſidering not only the ſtrength of *Ali*'s Party, who though kept under for the preſent, would be ſure to fall into any Meaſures oppoſite to *Moawiyah* their mortal Enemy; But alſo that there were ſeveral left of the old *Society* of the Apoſtle, who expected the Diſſolution of *Moawiyah*, with no leſs Impatience than the Papable Cardinals long for the Poſſeſſion of the Apoſtolick Chair. Beſides that *Yezid*'s Character was ſo obnoxious, that whatſoever it might ſeem in his Father's Eyes, his Uncle *Ziyàd*, who had both Capacity and Experience enough to underſtand Men, and Courage enough to govern them, thought it too Unpopular to be propoſed to the Provinces. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Difficulties, *Moawiyah* ſo managed the Matter, that the Son was more ſecure of ſucceeding the Father, than could have been ſuppoſed, conſidering the very Attempt was a perfect Impoſition and Innovation, and there was

[1] Anno 60.

ſuch

ſuch a vigorous Oppoſition to be expected. [1] As ſoon as it was over, *Yezid* ſat and gave Audience to the Ambaſſadors, who were ſent from all the Countries round to proffer their Allegiance, and Congratulate him. Amongſt the reſt came old *Alahnaph*, who was *Yezid*'s Uncle. *Moawiyah*, who was very fond of his Son, bad *Alahnaph* diſcourſe him; and to give him a fair Opportunity of trying his Parts, left them ſome time alone. When *Alahnaph* came out, *Moawiyah* aſked him what he thought of his Nephew. The old Man very gravely anſwered, *If we lye we are afraid of God; if we ſpeak Truth we are afraid of you. You know beſt both his Night and his Day: His inſide and his outſide: His coming in and his going out: And you know beſt what you deſign to do: It is our buſineſs to hear and obey: Yours to give Counſel to the People.*

Moawiyah
An. Heg. 6
cæpit Oct. 1
A. C. 679.

It was part of the Agreement between *Moawiyah* and *Haſan*, that after *Moawiyah*'s Deceaſe, the Government ſhould return to *Haſan*; but he being dead, *Moawiyah*'s Thoughts were entirely bent upon his own Son *Yezid*; and there either really was in him, or elſe Paternal Tenderneſs made him fancy it, ſomething ſo Grand and Majeſtick, and a Capacity ſo well fitted for the Government of a mighty Empire; that his Father grew every Day more fond of him than

[1] MS. *Hunt*, Numb. 495.

other;

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 60. cœpit Oct. 12. A. C. 679.

other; and though in other Respects, a wise and prudent Man, yet could not help frequently expressing in Conversation the great Opinion he entertained of his Abilities. It is said, that once in one of his Harangues to the People after this business was over, he said, *O God! If thou knowest that I have settled the Government upon him, because according to the best of my Judgment I think him qualified for it, confirm it to him! But if I have done it out of Affection confirm it not!*

[8] The last Speech he made in Publick, when he perceived himself in a weak Condition, was to this Purpose: "I am like the Corn that is "to be reaped, and I have governed you a long "time till we are both weary of one another; "both willing to part. I am superior to who-"soever shall come after me; as my Predeces-"sors were superior to me. Whosoever loves to "meet God, God loves to meet him. O God! "I love to meet thee! do thou love to meet me!" He had not walked far after this before he was taken very ill. [9] When he perceived Death approaching, his Son *Yezid* being absent, he called the Captain of his Guards to him, and another faithful Servant, and said to them, Remember me to *Yezid*, and tell him this from me, "Look "upon the *Arabians* as your Root and Founda-"tion, and whenever they send you any Am-

[8] *Ebno'l Athir.* [9] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

"bassa-

" baſſadors treat them with Courteſy and Re- Moawiyah I.
" ſpect. Take care of the *Syrians*, for they are An. Heg. 60.
" entirely in your Intereſt, and you may depend *capit Oct.* 12.
" upon them whenever you are inſulted by *A. C.* 679.
" your Enemies: But if ever you have Occa-
" ſion to make Uſe of them out of their own
" Country, as ſoon as they have anſwered your
" Purpoſe ſend them home again; for they alter
" for the worſe with being abroad. Oblige the
" *Irakians*, though they were to aſk you for a
" new Deputy every Day; you had better in ſuch
" a Caſe part with the deareſt Friend you have
" in the World, than have a Hundred Thou-
" ſand Swords drawn upon you. I am not in fear
" for you of any of the *Coreiſh* but three, *Ho-*
" *ſein*, *Ben Amer*, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zo-*
" *beir*. (Here he repeated the Characters given
" of them before) If *Abdollah* appears againſt
" you oppoſe him; if he offers you Peace ac-
" cept it, and ſpare the Blood of your People
" as much as lies in your Power."

[3] He reigned nineteen Years, three Months and ſeven and twenty Days, from the Time that the Government came entirely into his Hands upon *Haſan*'s Reſignation. There are different Reports concerning his Age; ſome ſay ſeventy Years, and others ſeventy five. When he was dead, *Dehàc* the Son of *Kais* went into the

[3] *Abulpheda.*

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 60. *expit Oct.* 12. *A.C.* 679.

Moſque, and ſtept up into the Pulpit with *Moawiyah*'s Winding-Sheet in his Hand; where having made an Encomium upon him, and ſatisfied the People that he was dead, and that that was his Winding-Sheet, he ſaid the Burying Prayers over him. *Yezid* was then abſent at a Town called *Hawarin*, belonging to the Territory of *Hems*. They wrote to him and deſired his Preſence; but he did not come till after his Father was buried, and then went and prayed at the Tomb.

Moawiyah embraced the *Mahometan* Religion at the ſame time with his Father, which was in the *Year of the Victory*. *Mahomet* made him his Secretary, and *Omar* gave him the Lieutenancy of *Syria* four Years of his Reign. *Othman* continued him in that Poſt during the whole Space of his Reign, which was about twelve Years. Four Years more he kept *Syria* in his own Hands by Force, whilſt he held up Arms againſt *Ali*. So that taking all together he had Poſſeſſion of *Syria*, either as Governour or *Chaliph*, near forty Years.

He was of a merciful Diſpoſition, Couragious, of a quick Capacity, thoroughly ſkilled in the Adminiſtration of Government. [1] His good

[1] The Reader will eaſily perceive that this manner of Expreſſion is not *Engliſh* but *Arabick*, as he may obſerve in abundance of Paſſages throughout the whole Book.

Nature

Nature prevailed over his Anger, and the Sweetneſs of his Temper exceeded its Fierceneſs. He was eaſy of Acceſs, and very obliging in his Behaviour. Moawiyah An. Heg. 6 *cœpit Oct.* 1 *A. C.* 679.

[3] There is a Tradition that goes under the Name of one *Haſan* a *Baſorian*, of great Authority among the Traditioniſts. He ſaid, that there were four Things to be objected againſt *Moawiyah*, every one of which merited his Deſtruction. 1. That he took the *Chaliphate* upon him by dint of Sword, without having firſt conſulted the People, amongſt whom, beſides the Companions of the Apoſtle, there were a great many Perſons of Merit and Diſtinction. 2. His leaving the *Chaliphate* by way of Inheritance to his Son *Yezid*, a Man of a ſcandalous Character, a Drunkard, a lover of Muſick, and one that wore Silk. 3. His ſcandalous manner of proceeding in the Buſineſs of *Ziyàd*, when he owned him for his Brother, notwithſtanding the Determination of *Mahomet* with relation to ſuch Matters. 4. His Cruelty to *Hejer* and his Companions. *Shaphei* reports, that he put *Ali Rebiyah* in Chains, becauſe there were four of the *Companions* whoſe Teſtimony he rejected, *viz.* *Moawiyah*, *Amrou*, *Almogéirah* and *Ziyàd*.

Once there came before him a young Man, and repeated a Copy of Verſes to him, expreſſing

[3] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 60. cæpit Oct. 12. A. C. 679.

his preſent Condition. *Moawiyah* was very well pleaſed with the Verſes. The *Arabians* delight in Charity, and to addreſs the ſevereſt Tyrant of them all after that manner with ſomething that is fanciful and pungent, is the ſecureſt Way in the World either for a Man to gain his Point, or if Neceſſity requires it, to ſave his Neck. The young Man's Caſe was, he had married a fair *Arabian* Laſs purely for Love, and out of meer Fondneſs had ſpent all his Subſtance, which was very conſiderable upon her. She was charmingly beautiful; and the Governour of *Cufah* caſt his wanton Eyes upon her, and raviſhed her from her Huſband's Boſom by Force. He, to whom the Loſs of his Subſtance, though it had been all the World, was nothing in reſpect of her; pierced to the very Heart, and ready to die with Sorrow and Vexation, made his Application to *Moawiyah*. *Moawiyah* reſolved to do him Juſtice, and ſent an Expreſs to the Governour to reſign the Woman. The Governour, who had not the moſt abſurd Taſte in the World, told the Expreſs, That if the *Chaliph* would be pleaſed to give him Leave to enjoy her one Twelve-month, he would be contented to have his Head ſtruck off at the end of it. But the *Chaliph* rigidly inſiſted upon her being delivered up, and had her brought before him. He was very much ſurpriſed at her Beauty, but much

much more at the Politeneſs and Elegancy of her Expreſſion. He that had received ſo many Embaſſies, and always converſed with the Greateſt Men of his Country, never in his Life heard ſuch a Torrent of Eloquence as flowed from the Mouth of that charming *Arabian*. The *Chaliph* aſked her jocoſely, Whether ſhe would have him, or the Governour, or her Huſband. She anſwered him in Verſe, with the Modeſty that became her Sex, and I forbear to tranſlate her Anſwer, becauſe I deſpair of coming up to the Spirit of it; but the Senſe is, That though what a Perſon in his eminent Station was able to do for her, was beyond her Merit or Expectation, yet it could not be put into the Balance againſt everlaſting Damnation. She begged of him, if he deſigned her any Favour, to reſtore her to her own dear Huſband; which he very genreouſly performed, and preſented her with a very rich Equipage and plenty of Gold, to repair the ſhattered Circumſtances of her Huſband, who had ſpent a good Fortune upon her. Moawiyah An. Heg. 60 *cœpit Oct.* 12 *A. C.* 679.

He was always very munificent. He made a Preſent to *Ayeſha* of a Bracelet worth an Hundred Thouſand Pieces of Gold, which ſhe accepted. He preſented *Haſan* with three Hundred Thouſand Pieces, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* with one Hundred Thouſand. He uſed to bid thoſe that came to ſee him, take any

Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 60. Ineunte Oct. 12. A. C. 679.

thing they had a mind to. He presented *Hosein* with a Hundred Thousand Pieces, who divided them among ten of his Acquaintance. An Hundred Thousand more he gave to *Abdollah*, the Son of *Jaafar*, who gave them to his Wife at her Request. He presented *Merwân*, the Son of *Hakem*, afterwards *Chaliph*, with an Hundred Thousand Pieces, who divided half of them amongst his Friends. At another time he presented *Hasan* with four Millions.

[4] It happened that *Sapor*, who had seized *Armenia* by Force of Arms, sent an Ambassador named *Sergius*, to *Moawiyah*; desiring his Assistance against the *Grecian* Emperor; who at the same Time sent one *Andrew* an Eunuch, a great Favourite. *Moawiyah* told them, That they were both equally Enemies, and that he would assist that Side that offered him most. There was some Altercation between the two Ambassadors; *Sergius* reproached the Eunuch with the Loss of his Virility; the other in Return called him Sodomite. But after their Audience was over, *Andrew* the Eunuch was revenged upon his Antagonist; for he gave Directions to the Officers upon the Frontiers, who seized him in his Return, castrated him, and dismissed him with his Testicles about his Neck.

[4] *Abulpheragius.*

Moa-

[4] *Moawiyah* was the firſt *Chaliph* that introduced the *Mekſourah* into the Moſque; that is a Place raiſed above, and ſeparate from the reſt; where the *Chaliph*, who was as well chief Pontiff in Religious, as Sovereign in Civil Affairs, began and chanted the Prayers, which are, as one may ſay, the publick Office of the Muſlemans; and it was in the ſame Place that he made the *Cothah* to the People, which is a ſort of Homily or Preachment; [5] and uſed, before his Time, always to follow the Prayers; but he began with it firſt, for fear he ſhould forget what he had prepared to ſay. Moawiyah I. An. Heg. 60. *cœpit Oct.* 12. *A. C.* 679.

[6] He was the firſt *Chaliph* that obliged the People to ſwear Allegiance to his Son: The firſt that laid Poſt Horſes upon the Roads: the firſt that made a *Mekſourah*; and the firſt that ſpoke to the People ſitting.

[7] An *Arabian* Robber being once condemned to have his Hand cut off, *Moawiyah* pardoned him for the ſake of four very ingenious Verſes that he made and repeated to him in the Field. They remark, that this was the firſt Sentence pronounced among the Muſlemans that was not put in Execution; the *Chaliphs* not having as yet, till *Moawiyah*, taken the Liberty of ſhewing Favour to thoſe whom the ordinary Judges had condemned.

[4] *Abulpheda. D'Herbelot.* [5] *Abulpheragius.* [6] *Abulpheda.* [7] *D'Herbelot* from *Rabialakyar.*

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[s] *Abulpheda* records this following Account of him, as a remarkable Inſtance of his Patience and Clemency. *Arwah* the Daughter of *Hareth*, the Son of *Abdolmutáleb* the Son of *Haſhem*, came to make him a Viſit: She was his Aunt, a very old Woman, and of *Ali*'s Branch of the Family: as ſoon as *Moawiyah* had ſaluted her, ſhe began to reproach him, *O Nephew*, ſaid She, *you have been very ungrateful, and injurious to your Couſin, who was a Companion (of the Apoſtle;) and you called your ſelf by a Name that was none of your own; and took Poſſeſſion of what you had no Right to. And our Family exceeded all Men in Sufferings for this Religion, till God took his Prophet to reward his Labours, and to exalt his Station: And then you inſulted us, and we were amongſt you like the Children of* Iſrael *in the Family of* Pharaoh: *Though* Ali, *after the Prophet, was as* Aaron *was to* Moſes. *Amrou*, who was then preſent, had no Patience, but took her up and ſaid, *Hold your Tongue, old Woman, and do not talk thus like one out of your Wits. What*, ſays ſhe, *do you prate, you Son of a Whore, when your Mother was the moſt notorious and cheapeſt Strumpet in all* Mecca; *and when ſhe was examined concerning five of the* Coreiſh, *ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had lain with them all; and that you muſt belong to him*

[s] *Abulpheda.*

whom

whom you reſembled moſt; you proving moſt like old Aáſi, he was forced to father you. Moawiyah only ſaid to her, *God forgive what is paſt, what would you have?* She anſwered, Two Thouſand Pieces to buy an Eſtate for the Poor of our Family; and two Thouſand more to marry our poor Relations; and two Thouſand more for my ſelf to ſecure me in Time of Extremity: Which was all, by *Moawiyah*'s Command, paid down to her immediately. Moawiyah I An. Heg. 60 cæpit Oct. 12 A. C. 679.

This *Chaliph* was buried in *Damaſcus*, where he had eſtabliſhed the Seat of the *Chaliphate*: And that City always preſerved that Prerogative ſo long as the *Ommiades*, or Defendants of *Moawiyah* reigned there; till the Time of the *Abbaſides*, who transferred it to *Anbar*, *Haſchemyah* and *Bagdad*. The Inſcription of his Seal was, *Every Work hath its Reward*, or as others ſay, *There is no Strength but in God*.

The

The Second Chaliph *of the Houſe of* Ommiyah, (*being the Seventh from* MAHOMET.)

YEZID,

The Son of Moawiyah.

YEZIDI. An. Heg. 60. *cœpit Oct.* 12. *A. C.* 679.

[1]YEZID, the Son of *Moawiyah*, was inaugurated *Chaliph* on the New Moon of the Month *Rejeb*, of the ſixtieth Year of the *Hegirah*, which falls in with the Seventh Day of *April*, in the Year of our Lord Six Hundred and Eighty. He was born in the twenty ſixth Year of the *Hegirah*, according to which Account he was thirty four (Lunar) Years old when he was ſaluted Emperor. He was forthwith acknowledged lawful *Chaliph* in *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Ægypt* and *Perſia*, and all the other *Mahometan* Countries, except the Cities of *Meccah* and *Medinah*, and ſome others of *Chaldea*, that refuſed to ſubmit themſelves to him: And among the Great Ones there were

[1] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. *Abulpheda.*

none

none but *Hoſein*, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, that diſputed the *Chaliphate* with him to their Death. YEZID I. An. Heg. 60. *cœpit Oct.* 12. *A.C.* 679.

He kept all his Father's Lieutenants and Officers in their Places, without ſo much as removing one of them. The Governour of *Medinah* was *Waled* the Son of *Otbah*; of *Cufah*, *Nooman* the Son of *Báſhir*; of *Baſorah*, *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyàd*; of *Meccah*, *Abdollah Amrou*. As ſoon as he came to the Government, he had nothing ſo much at Heart, as the bringing in thoſe that had oppoſed his being nominated his Father's Heir and Succeſſor. Concerning this Affair, he wrote a Letter to *Waled* his Governour in *Medinah*, as follows; *In the Name of the moſt Merciful God. From* Yezid *Emperor of the Faithful to* Waled *the Son of* Otbah. Moawiyah *was one of the Servants of God, who honoured him, and made him* Chaliph, *and extended his Dominions and eſtabliſhed him. He lived his appointed Time, and God took him to his Mercy. He lived beloved, and he died pure and innocent. Farewell. Hold* Hoſein *and* Abdollah *the Son of* Amer, *and* Abdollah *the Son of* Zobéir *cloſe to the Inauguration without any Remiſſion or Relaxation. Waled* upon the Receipt of this Letter, ſent for *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem*, and conſulted him concerning the Contents of it. *Merwan* was of Opinion, that he ſhould ſend for them and tender

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tender them the Oath, before they were appriſed of the *Chaliph*'s Death; and upon their Refuſal ſhould ſtrike their Heads off. Either this was not ſo cloſely concerted but they received ſome private Intelligence; or elſe they ſuſpected it themſelves: Which way ſoever it was, when *Waled*'s Meſſenger came to them, who found them at the Moſque, they ſent him back with this Anſwer, That they were coming. After a ſhort Deliberation, *Hoſein* went to the Governour's Houſe, attended with a ſufficient Number of his Friends and Domeſticks, whom he placed about the Door, with Orders to come in if they ſhould hear any Diſturbance. The Governour having acquainted him with *Moawiyah*'s Deceaſe, invited him to own his Allegiance to *Yezid*. He anſwered, That Men of his Diſtinction did not uſe to do Things of that Nature in private; neither did he expect that he would ever have deſired it of him; that he thought it better to ſtay till all the People were met together, according to the Cuſtom upon ſuch Occaſions, and do it unanimouſly. *Waled* conſented: But *Merwan*, who could eaſily ſee through this Excuſe, (as the Governour did too) ſaid to the Governour, If he does not do it now before he goes away, there will be a great deal of Blood ſhed between you and him; wherefore hold him cloſe, and do not let him go

YEZIDI. An. Heg. 60. *cæpit Oct.* 12. *A. C.* 679.

go out till he hath given his Allegiance, otherwiſe ſtrike his Head off. *Hoſein* leaped out, and having firſt reproached *Merwàn* for his Advice, went to his own Houſe. *Merwàn* ſwore to the Governour, that he was never like to ſee *Hoſein* any more. The Governour told him, he did not trouble himſelf about it; adding, that he had every Thing he deſired in this World, and that he did not believe that that Man's Balance would be light in the next that ſhould be guilty of the Murder of *Hoſein*. It is an Article of the *Mahometan* Faith, that at the laſt Day there ſhall be a Balance ſupported by the Divine Power, that ſhall extend to the utmoſt Limits of Heaven and Earth, in which the moſt minute Actions of mortal Men ſhall be weighed; and he whoſe evil Deeds outweigh his good ones, ſhall be damned; on the contrary, he whoſe good Deeds overbalance his evil ones, ſhall be ſaved. For this Reaſon *Waled* ſaid, That his Balance would not be light, (meaning that wherein his evil Deeds were put) that ſhould kill *Hoſein*. Then *Waled* ſent for *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, who put him off for the Space of four and twenty Hours; and taking along with him all his Family; and his Brother *Jaafar*, departed for *Meccah*, *Waled* ſent a Party of Horſe to purſue him, but to no Purpoſe. Whilſt *Waled* was thus taken up with *Abdollah*, he had little Time to

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to take Notice of *Hoſein*, who whenever he ſent for him, put him off with an Excuſe, and in the mean time made all the ſecret Preparation he could to follow *Abdollah*. He left none of all his Family behind him except his Brother *Mahomet Hanifiyah*, who before they parted, expreſſing the moſt tender Affection and Concern for him that can be imagined, adviſed him by no Means to venture himſelf in any of the Provinces, but to lye cloſe either in the Deſarts or the Mountains, till his Friends were gathered together in a conſiderable Body, and then he might truſt himſelf with them. But if he was reſolved to go into any Town, he ſhould prefer *Meccah*; where if he met with the leaſt Appearance of any Thing that diſguſted him, he ſhould immediately withdraw and retire to the Mountains: *Hoſein* having thanked him heartily for his ſincere Advice, made the beſt of his Way to *Meccah*, where he met with *Abdollah*.

Yezid, not well pleaſed with *Waled*'s Remiſneſs, removed him from the Government of *Medinah*, and gave it to *Amrou* the Son of *Saëd*, who was Governour of *Meccah*. He was a very proud Man. He gave *Amer* the Son of *Zobeir* a Commiſſion to March againſt his Brother *Abdollah*, whom he mortally hated. *Abdollah* engaged him in the Field, routed him, and put him in Priſon, where he kept him till he died.

Now

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Now though *Abdollah* ſeemed to have Intereſt ſufficient to carry his Point, and had beat down all Oppoſition before him, and the *Medinians* had openly declared for him, ſo that his Fame was ſpread round about the Country: Yet *Hoſein*'s Glory outſhined him, ſo that he could not tell how to propoſe any thing that he deſigned to the People, ſo long as he was there: Who both upon the account of his near Relation to *Mahomet*, and his own perſonal Qualifications, was reverenced above all Men alive. *Moawiyah* ſo long as he lived, treated him with the utmoſt Reſpect: And when *Haſan* had reſigned to *Moawiyah*, both he and his Brother *Hoſein* uſed to viſit him frequently, and he always received them courteouſly, and never failed to diſmiſs them with noble Preſents. After *Haſan*'s Death, *Hoſein* uſed to ſend to him often, and paid him a Viſit once every Year, and went with his Son *Yezid* in his Expedition againſt *Conſtantinople*. *Hoſein* was the Hopes of all the *Irakians*; never were People more overjoyed than they were at the Death of *Moawiyah*, whom they had all along deteſted as a Tyrant and Uſurper. They thought that now there was a Period put to all their Slavery, and they ſhould be under the gentle Government, of a Man that was ſprung of an almoſt divine Race. The *Cufians* were ſo impatient, that they ſent Meſſage after

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after Meſſage to him, aſſuring him that if he would but once make his Appearance amongſt them, he ſhould not only be ſecure as to his own Perſon, but in conſideration of the Eſteem which they had for his Father *Ali*, and his Family, they would render him their Homages, and acknowledge him for the only lawful and true *Chaliph*. They aſſured him that there was no manner of difficulty in the Matter; all the Country being entirely devoted to ſerve him with their Lives and Fortunes. The Meſſengers they had ſent one after another, came to him all together, preſſing him with the utmoſt Vehemency, to what he himſelf had no Averſion to: Only he thought it a part of a prudent Man to uſe a little Caution and Circumſpection, in an Affair of ſo great Conſequence, and attended with ſo much hazard. Wherefore he firſt ſends his Couſin *Muſlim* into *Irak*, to feel the Pulſe of the People, and ſee whether or no they were ſo unanimouſly in his Intereſt as had been repreſented. Ordering him, that if he found it ſo, he ſhould head a Body of them, and beat down all Oppoſition if there ſhould be any: Beſides he gave him a Letter to the *Cufians* to that purpoſe. *Muſlim* left *Meccah*, and paſſed through *Medinah*, from whence he took along with him a couple of Guides, who led him into a vaſt Deſart, where there was no Road: One of them pe-

periſhed with Thirſt, and the other ſoon after died of the Cholick. This unproſperous Beginning ſeemed ominous to *Muſlim*, and diſcouraged him to that degree, that, having found a Place where there was Water, he would not ſtir a ſtep further in his Journey, till he had diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Hoſein* for further Inſtructions. *Hoſein* ordered him to go on to *Cufah* by all means, and act purſuant to thoſe Directions he had received before. When he came to *Cufah*, he communicated his Buſineſs privately to ſuch as he could truſt, and the Matter was whiſpered about ſo dexterouſly, that they reckoned themſelves ſecure of Eighteen Thouſand, before *Yezid*'s Deputy *Nómàn* had heard one word of it. *Muſlim*, ſufficiently ſatisfied with this Succeſs, did not defer acquainting *Hoſein* with it: He wrote to him, and told him, that every thing was made plain and eaſie for him now; and that nothing was wanting but his Preſence. Upon this notice, he ſet out upon his Journey from *Meccah* to *Cufah*.

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Nómàn at laſt received Information of the increaſing Intereſt of *Hoſein*, and the forwardneſs of his Party; he was both ſurpriſed and concerned; and made a Speech to the People, wherein he exhorted them to a peaceful Behaviour, and to avoid all manner of Strife and Contention: Aſſuring them that for his own part he

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would not be the Aggreſſor, nor meddle with any Perſon, unleſs he was inſulted himſelf; nor would he take up any Man upon Suſpicion; But he ſwore by that God, beſides whom is no other, that if they revolted from their *Imàm* [*Yezid*] and withdrew their Allegiance, he would fight as long as he could hold his Sword in his Hand. One that ſtood by, told him that this was a Matter that required ſtirring, but that he talked like one of the weak Ones. He anſwered that *He had rather be one of the weak ones in obedience to God, than one of the ſtrong ones in rebelling againſt him.* And with thoſe words he came down. News of this was carried to *Yezid*, who ſent immediately, and removed *Nómàn* from the Lieutenancy of *Cufah*, and gave it to *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyàd*, together with that of *Baſorah*, which he had before. This he did at the inſtance of *Sarchun*, the Son of *Moawiyah*: For before that time he was not affected well towards *Obeidollah*, probably becauſe his Father *Ziyàd* was againſt his being declared Heir to *Moawiyah*.

Upon this *Obeidollah* went from *Baſorah* to *Cufah*. He rode into the Town in the Evening, with a black Turbant on, (which was *Hoſein*'s Dreſs) and he could not paſs along and ſalute the Crowd, but he was reſaluted by the Title of the Son of the Apoſtle; they imagining that it

it had been *Hoſein* of whoſe coming they were in hourly Expectation. But to their no ſmall Grief and Mortification, they were ſoon undeceived, when ſome of *Obeidollah*'s Retinue ſaid to them; Stand off, it is the *Emir Obeidollah*. He went directly with his Retinue to the Caſtle (they were but ſeventeen Horſe in all) and began to think of proper Means for the extinguiſhing this Sedition. For this purpoſe, he gives three Thouſand Pieces for a Show to one of his Domeſticks, whoſe Buſineſs it was to pretend, that he came out of *Syria* on purpoſe to this Inauguration of *Hoſein*. *Muſlim* had a Houſe in Town, where he polled great Numbers every Day. *Obeidollah*'s Man managed his Buſineſs ſo well, that he eaſily gained Credit to his Story, and was introduced to *Muſlim* who took down his Vote for *Hoſein*. And to colour the Matter, he gave ſome of his Money towards the buying Arms, to one that *Muſlim* had ſingled out for that Office, whoſe Buſineſs it was to receive all the Money that was contributed by the Party for that purpoſe. He continued among them the ſpace of a few Days, till he had ſufficiently informed himſelf of all their Circumſtances, and then made his Report to *Obeidollah*. *Muſlim* had changed his Quarters, which at firſt he had taken up at *Huni*'s Houſe, and removed to *Sharik*'s, who was one of the grand *Omeras*; *Sha-*

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rik was then Sick, and they being informed that *Obeidollah* deſigned him a Viſit, contrived to place *Muſlim* in a Corner to kill him. The Signal agreed upon, was when the ſick Man ſhould call for Water. Afterwards *Obeidollah* came attended by *Hani* and one Servant. They ſat down (except the Servant) and talked with *Sharik* a while, but *Muſlim* had not Courage enough to ſtir. [1] The Girl that was bringing the Water, ſpying *Muſlim* ſtanding there was aſhamed, and went back with it three times. At laſt he called out loud, Bring me ſome Water, though it kills me. This made *Obeidollah*'s Man ſuſpect, that there was ſomething more than ordinary in the Matter; ſo he gave a hint to his Maſter, who leaped forth immediately. When they were gone, *Hani* and *Sharik* aſked *Muſlim*, why he did not kill him. He anſwered he had heard a Tradition of the Apoſtle who had ſaid, *The Faith is contrary to Murther: Let not a Believer murther a Man unawares.* Wherefore, he ſaid, he durſt not kill him in his Houſe. They told him that if he had done it, no body would have concerned themſelves to revenge his Death, and they could have ſecured him in the Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle. *Sharik* died three Days after. As for *Hani*, upon *Obeidollah*'s commanding the [2] Regiſters to be ſtrictly ſearched, under

[1] M.S. *Hunt.* Numb. 495. [2] See *Eſther* vi. 1.

the

the ſevereſt Penalty, he was found ſtanding upon Record, as an old Offender, and one that had oppoſed *Obeidollah* before. *Obeidollah* remembered him, and ſent ſome of the *Omeras*, who would not let him alone till they brought him along with them to the Caſtle. When he came there, *Obeidollah* aſked him what was become of *Muſlim*. He at firſt pretended to know nothing of him, but being confronted by *Obeidollah*'s Servant who had ſeen *Muſlim* at his Houſe, and paid him Money to buy Arms for the Service of *Hoſein*, he had nothing elſe to ſay for himſelf, but that *Muſlim* intruded himſelf upon him into his Houſe, and did not come thither by his Invitation. *Obeidollah* commanded him to produce him. He anſwered, that if he was under his Feet, he would not take them off from him. At this *Obeidollah* gave him ſuch a Blow with his Mace, that he wounded him in the Face, and broke his Noſe. *Hani* had like to have ſeized one of the Swords of the Guards, but was prevented. *Obeidollah* told him he had forfeited his Life, and commanded him to be impriſoned in a Room in the Caſtle. The People of his Tribe came flocking about the Caſtle, imagining that he was Murdered; but the *Kádi* ſent one to tell them, that he was detained only to be aſked ſome Queſtions about *Muſlim*, and bad them be at quiet, and go peaceably to their

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Houſes, for though the *Emir* had ſtruck him, it would not affect his Life. *Muſlim* having heard this News mounted his Horſe, and gave the Word [7] *Ya Menſour Ommet!* Which was the Signal agreed upon among *Hoſein*'s Party. Four Thouſand joined him, and he conducted them towards the Caſtle under two Colours, the one Red, the other Green. *Obeidollah* was then in the Caſtle Priſon, diſcourſing concerning *Hani*'s Buſineſs, and cautioning them againſt Sedition. The *Omera*'s and chief Men ſat under him, when the Watch came and ſurpriſed them all, with the News of *Muſlim*'s Appearance before the Caſtle. *Obeidollah* ſent ſeveral Men of Note and Authority among the People, out of the Caſtle, who rode backwards and forwards diſſwading them from hazarding themſelves upon ſuch an account: And bad thoſe that were with him, look out of the Caſtle, and encourage the Loyaliſts. A Woman called out to *Muſlim*, and told him, he might go about his Buſineſs, for the People would find him Work enough. They conſidering that the Event was dubious, began to deſert by degrees, till *Muſlim* had no more than Thirty Men left with him; ſo he retired in the Evening and hid himſelf. Taking the Opportunity of the Twilight, he departed from *Cufah*, without ſo much as a Guide left

[7] O thou that art helped by the People! meaning *Hoſein*.

to

to ſhew him the Way, or any one to comfort him, or give him Shelter. Night came on, and he was upon the Road alone in the Dark, not knowing one ſtep of the Way, nor whither he was going. At laſt he found a Houſe ſtanding alone in the Field, and knocked at the Door: There came to him an old Woman, one that in the Days of her Youth and Beauty had belonged to a great Man, but afterwards had a Son by another, whom ſhe expected out of the Field. *Muſlim* aſked her for ſome Water, which when ſhe had given him, and perceived that he made no haſte to go away, ſhe told him that it was not convenient for him to ſtand there at her Door, neither would ſhe allow it. At laſt he let her underſtand that it was in her Power to do a thing that ſhe ſhould have no Reaſon to repent of. She aſked him what it was, He told her his Name was *Muſlim*, and that the People of the Country had deceived him. She no ſooner heard his Name, but ſhe readily let him in, and having conveyed him into the moſt ſecret and retired Part of her Houſe, made the beſt Proviſion for him ſhe was able. At laſt her Son came home, and obſerving his Mother going backwards and forwards very often, would not reſt ſatisfied, till ſhe had acquainted him with the occaſion of it, which to ſatisfy his Importunity ſhe did, having firſt enjoyned him Secrecy.

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But he, having heard that *Obeidollah* had promiſed a Reward to whoſoever ſhould diſcover *Muſlim*, went and informed in the Morning: So that before *Muſlim* well knew where he was, he found himſelf ſurrounded with Threeſcore and ten, or Fourſcore Horſe. He betook him to his Sword, and defended himſelf bravely, for he beat them thrice out of the Houſe: They pelted him with Stones, and put Fire upon the ends of Canes, and flung at him; then he went out and fought abroad: Till at laſt overpowered with Numbers, and grievouſly wounded in a great many Places, particularly both his Lips almoſt cut to Pieces, he was ſeized and diſarmed, and bound and mounted upon his own Mule. When he perceived that it was quite out of his Power to help himſelf, he wept. One of the Men that was preſent told him, that it did not become a Man that came about ſuch a great Undertaking to weep: He anſwered, that it was not upon his own account, but for the ſake of *Hoſein* and his Family, who he feared were upon their Journey from *Meccah* to *Cufah*, and as he ſuppoſed came out either that very Day, or the Day before. Then turning to *Mohammed*, the Son of *Aláſhat*, he begged of him, if it was poſſible, to ſend to him in his Name, to intreat him to go back: Which *Mohammed* performed, but the Meſſenger did not do his part.

When

When *Muſlim* came to the Caſtle Gate, there ſtood a great many of the *Omera*'s, ſome of which he knew, and others knew him, waiting for Admiſſion to *Obeidollah*. He was very deſirous to drink a draught of Water, but one of the Men told him he ſhould have no Drink, till he drank the *Hamim*, that is the ſcalding Liquor which the *Mahometans* feign ſhall be the Drink of the Damned in Hell. *Obeidollah* appearing, *Muſlim* did not *Salàm* or ſalute him; which when they wondered at, he ſaid if *Yezid* were there himſelf, he ſhould not think himſelf obliged to do it, unleſs he would give him his Life. *Obeidollah* told him that he had come thither to make a Diſturbance, and ſow the Seeds of Diviſion amongſt People that were all unanimous, and all agreed upon the ſame thing. *Muſlim* reſolutely anſwered, It is not ſo: But the People of this Province know very well, that your Father *Ziyàd* has killed the beſt of their Men, and ſhed their Blood, and exerciſed over them the Tyranny of a *Coſroes* or a *Cæſar*; and we come to govern with Juſtice, and appeal to the Determination of the Book. *Obeidollah* called him Rogue, and told him he did not uſe to appeal to the Determination of the Book, when he was tippling Wine at *Medinah*. For the truth of which Accuſation, *Muſlim* appealed to God. Having leave given him to make his Will, he whiſ-

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whiſpered one of his Friends, and left him ſeven Hundred Pieces; deſiring him to beg his dead Body of *Obeidollah*, and to take care to prevent *Hoſein*'s advancing any further in his Journey. He was overheard by one that ſtood by, who told every Word he ſaid to *Obeidollah*. He did not diſapprove of any one Article in it, and as for *Hoſein* he ſaid, if he would be at quiet no body would meddle with him, but if he was the Aggreſſor, they would nôt flinch from him: *Muſlim* was then carried to the top of the Caſtle and Beheaded. The Head was firſt thrown down to the Bottom, and the Body after it. Then *Hani* was brought forth and Beheaded in the Street. Both the Heads were ſent for a Preſent to *Yezid*, with a Letter ſpecifying their ſeveral Circumſtances. This was on the Eighth Day of the Month *Dulhagiah* in the Sixtieth Year of the *Hegirah*.

The earneſt and repeated Sollicitations of the *Cuſians* made *Hoſein* reſolve to accept their Invitation, and go directly to *Cufah*. They had ſent him in a Poll of an Hundred and forty Thouſand: Which together with their Letters he bundled up, and carried along with him. The wiſeſt of his Friends looked upon it as a degree of Madneſs in him, to embark himſelf in ſuch a deſperate Undertaking. At laſt they ſaid

ſaid, that if he was reſolved to go, it was his Deſtiny that precipitated him. [4] *Abdollah* the Son of *Abbas* told him, that there was a Report ſpread of his intended Journey to *Cufah*, and deſired to know what he meant by it. *Hoſein* told him, that if it pleaſed God, he was reſolved upon it. The Son of *Abbas* anſwered, that indeed if the *Cufians* had taken Arms, killed their *Emir* [*Obeidollah*] and taken the whole Country into their own Hands, and then invited him to come and take the Government upon him, there would be ſomething in it, and he ſhould adviſe him to go: But that ſo long as they were under the Command of their *Emir*, whoſe Forces were diſperſed throughout all thoſe Territories for the Security of the Country, they had in effect at beſt only invited him to a War; and that he had no Security that they would not oppoſe him, and that they who had been the forwardeſt in appearing in his Intereſt, might not in the end prove his greateſt Enemies. *Hoſein* ſaid he would leave the Event to God. After this *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* came to make him a Viſit, and enquire into his Deſign. Among other Diſcourſe he ſaid, I do not ſee any Reaſon why we ſhould leave every thing to the diſpoſal of theſe Men, when we are the

YEZID I. An. Heg. 60. *cæpit Oct* 12. *A. C.* 679.

[4] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

Sons

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Sons of the *Mahogerins* or Refugees, and have a better Right and Claim to the Government than they. *Hoſein* told him that the chief of the Nobility had written to him, and that his Sect (the *Shii*) were all ready to ſtand up for him to a Man. To which the Son of *Zobéir* anſwered, that if he had ſuch a Sect to ſtand up for him, he would not omit the Opportunity. *Hoſein* eaſily ſaw through his Meaning; for *Abdollah*, who was a Man of a reſtleſs aſpiring Temper, knew very well that all his own Pretenſions would be in vain, ſo long as *Hoſein* was alive, but if any thing ſhould befall him, the way to the *Chaliphate* would be made clear for himſelf; which *Hoſein* took notice of as ſoon as he was gone. *Abdollah* the Son of *Abbàs* was ſtill very uneaſy; and reſolved to leave no means unattempted to diſſwade him from his Undertaking. He came to him again, and repreſented to him the fickle Temper of the *Irakians*, and intreated him to ſtay at leaſt till they had got rid of their Enemy the *Emir*, and then either to go to them, or elſe into that part of *Hejaz*, where there were Places of Strength: That he ſhould keep himſelf retired, and write circular Letters to all his Friends, till they had formed a Body, and were capable of appearing for him to ſome Advantage; that then he hoped Things would ſucceed according to his Deſire. *Hoſein* told him, he

he knew that he adviſed him as a Friend. At leaſt, added the Son of *Abbàs*, if you be reſolved to go, do not take your Wives and Children along with you, for, by God, I fear your Caſe will be like *Othman*'s, who was murdered whilſt his Wives and Children ſtood looking on: Beſides, you have rejoiced the Heart of *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, in leaving him behind you in *Hejaz*: And by that God, beſides whom there is no other, if I knew that my taking you by the Hair of the Head, till they came in and parted us, would be a Means to detain you at *Meccah*, I would do it. Then he left him, and meeting with *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, he told him, he had no Reaſon to be ſad, and immediately repeated *Ya lekà ming kobéiratin*, &c.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 60 *capit Oct.* 12 *A. C.* 679.

Wherein the *Arabian* Poet elegantly addreſſes himſelf to the Lark, and bids her, whilſt the Field and Seaſon favoured her, enjoy her ſelf, and ſing, and delight in her young Ones, and whatſoever elſe would entertain her; but let her aſſure herſelf ſhe ſhould not eſcape the Nets of the Fowler.

No Advice taking Place with *Hoſein*, though *Abdollah* the Son of *Abbàs* had ſat up with him all Night to no Purpoſe, he ſet out from *Meccah* with a competent Retinue on the eighth Day of the Month *Dulhagiah*, being the very ſame Day

[a] MS. *Laud.* Numb. 161. *A.*

on

YEZID I. An. Heg. 60. cæpit Oct. 12. A. C. 679.

on which his Couſin *Muſlim* was killed at *Cufah*, (though ſome ſay the Day before) concerning whom he had received no other Intelligence than what he had ſent him, that all Things went well. The *Emir Obeidollah* was very well appriſed of *Hoſein*'s Approach; who when he came as far as *Aſſheràph* met with a Body of a Thouſand Horſe, under the Command of *Harro* the Son of *Yezid*, of the Tribe of *Temimah*, a Man no way diſaffected to *Hoſein*'s Intereſt. *Hoſein*'s Men had been for Water at the River, and drawn a great deal for the Horſes, which he did not make uſe of for himſelf alone, but ordered them to water their Horſes of his Enemies. At Noon he commanded the People to be called together, according to the Cuſtom of the *Mahometans*, and came out to them with nothing but his Veſt, his Girdle and his Shoes, and alledged the Invitation of the *Cufians* as the Reaſon of his undertaking that Expedition. Then he aſked *Harro*, if he would pray amongſt his Men; who anſwered, that after him he would. They parted that Night and went every Man to his Tent, and the next Day *Hoſein* made a Speech to them, wherein he aſſerted his Title, and exhorted them to ſubmit to him, and oppoſe all that ſtood againſt him, who pretended to uſurp Authority over the People wrongfully. *Harro* told him, That he did not know who

who had writ to him, nor what it was; and on *Hoſein*'s producing the Letter, *Harro* ſaid, after he had read a little of it, We are none of thoſe that had any Hand in writing of it, and we are commanded as ſoon as we meet you to bring you directly to *Cufah* into the Preſence of *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyad*. *Hoſein* told him, That he would ſooner die than ſubmit to that, and gave the Word of Command to his Men to ride; but *Harro* wheeled about and intercepted them; which provoked *Hoſein* to ſay, [6]May your Mother be childleſs of you! (a common curſe amongſt the *Arabians*.) What do you mean? *Harro* anſwered If any Man but your ſelf had ſaid ſo much to me, I would have had Satisfaction, but I have no room to mention your Mother without the greateſt Reſpect. Then ſpeaking to his Men they retreated, and he told *Hoſein*, That he had no Commiſſion to fight with him, but was commanded not to part with him till he had conducted him to *Cufah*. But he bad him chuſe any Road that did not go directly to *Cufah*, or back again to *Medinah*; and do you, ſays he, write to *Yezid* or *Obeidollah*, and I will write to *Obeidollah*, perhaps it may pleaſe God I may meet with ſomething that may bring me off, without my being expoſed to any Extremity upon your Account.

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[6] *Arab. Thacolátka Ommoka.*

Hoſein

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Hoſein upon this turned a little out of the Way that leads to *Adib* and *Kadiſia*, and *Harro* told him, that it was his Opinion, that if he would be the Aggreſſor and firſt ſet upon the *Cufians*, he might gain his Point; but if he ſuffered himſelf to be attacked he would periſh. *Hoſein* aſked him, if he thought to terrify him with Death. When they came to *Adib* they met with four Horſemen, who turned out of the Way to come up to *Hoſein*. *Alharro* would have rode between them and *Hoſein*, but he would not permit it. *Thirmàh* was their Guide, whom as ſoon as they came up *Hoſein* aſked what News: *Thirmah* anſwered, All the Nobility are againſt you to a Man; as for the reſt their Hearts are with you, but to morrow their Swords will be drawn againſt you. *Hoſein* aſked him if he could tell any Tidings of his Meſſenger *Kais* (one that he had ſent before him to prepare the Way) *Thirmàh* ſaid, As for your Meſſenger *Kais* he was brought before *Obeidollah*, who commanded him to curſe you and your Father *Ali*; inſtead of which he ſtood up and prayed for you and your Father, and curſed *Obeidollah* and his Father *Ziyàd*, and perſuaded the People to come into your Aſſiſtance, and gave them Notice of your coming. For which *Obeidollah* commanded him to be thrown down headlong from the Top of the Caſtle. At this News *Hoſein* wept, and

and repeated this Verſe of the *Alcoran*, *There are ſome of them who are already dead, and ſome of them that ſtay in Expectation and have not changed.* He then added, *O God! let their Manſions be in Paradiſe, and gather us and them together, in the fixed reſting Place of thy Mercy, and the delights of thy Reward.* Then ſays, *Thirmàh* to him, "I "do not think theſe People that are along with "you a ſufficient Match for thoſe that are a-"gainſt you. How is it poſſible, when all the "Plains of *Cufah* are full of Horſe and Foot "ready to meet you? I beg of you, for God's "ſake if it be poſſible, do not go a ſpan's breadth "nearer to them; but if you pleaſe, I will con-"duct you to our impregnable Mountain *Aja*, "in which God hath ſecured us from the Kings "of *Gaſan* and *Hamyar*, and from [3] *Nòoman* the "Son of *Almundir*, and from both the Black "and the Red. And if any Calamity befalls "us, you may retire thither, and then ſend to "the Tribe of *Tay*, and ſtay among us as long "as you pleaſe; for I believe there will be no "leſs than Ten Thouſand of that Tribe with "their Swords ready at your Service, and by "God, no body ſhall ever get at us. *Hoſein* "ſaid, God reward thee; but ſtill perſiſted in

YEZID I. An. Heg. 60. cœpit Oct. 12. A. C. 679.

[3] Concerning him ſee *Socrates* Hiſt. *Eccleſiaſt.* Lib. VII. Cap. 18.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. *cœpit Sept.* 30. *A.C.* 680.

" his Reſolution of going forwards, and *Thirmah* " took his Leave."

[4] When Night came on, he ordered his Men to provide as much Water as they ſhould have Occaſion for, and continued his March in the Night. As he went on he nodded a little, and waking on a ſudden, ſaid, *We belong to God, and to him we return.* I ſaw a Horſeman, who ſaid, *Men travel by Night, and the Deſtinies travel by Night towards them.* This I know to be a Meſſage of our Deaths. In the Morning after the Prayers were over he mended his Pace, and taking the Left Hand Road came to *Nineve*, (not the Ancient, but another Town of the ſame Name) and as he rode, with his Bow upon his Shoulders, there came up a Perſon who ſaluted *Alhárro*, but took no Notice of him. He delivered a Letter to *Alhárro*, containing Orders from *Obeidollah*, to lead *Hoſein* and his Men into a Place where there was neither Town nor Fortification, till his Meſſengers and Forces ſhould come up. This was on *Friday* the ſecond Day of the Month *Moharrem*, in the ſixty firſt Year of the *Hegirah*, that is on the firſt Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord Six Hundred and Eighty.

The Day after *Amer* the Son of *Saëd* came up with four Thouſand Men, which *Obeidollah*

[4] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. *A.*

had

had ordered to *Deilam*. They had pitched their Tents without the Walls of *Cufah*, and when they heard of *Hoſein*'s coming, *Obeidollah* commanded *Amer* to defer his intended March to *Deilam*, and go againſt *Hoſein*. *Amer* begged his Pardon, and when *Obeidollah* threatned him upon his Refuſal, he deſired Time to conſider of it: Every one that he adviſed withal diſſwaded him from it; inſomuch that his Nephew ſaid to him, Beware that you do not go againſt *Hoſein*, and rebel againſt your Lord, and cut off Mercy from you; By God, you had better be deprived of the Dominion of the whole World, than meet your Lord with the Blood of *Hoſein* upon you. He ſeemed to acquieſce and be overruled, but upon *Obeidollah*'s renewing his Threats, he marched againſt him, and met him in the Place above-mentioned, and ſent to enquire of him what brought him thither. *Hoſein* anſwered, that the *Cufians* had wrote to him, but ſince they had rejected him he was willing to return to *Meccah*. *Amer* was glad to hear it, and ſaid, he hoped in God he ſhould be excuſed from fighting againſt him. Then *Amer* wrote concerning it to *Obeidollah*, who ſent him this Anſwer, "Get between him and the Water, as "he did by *Othman* the innocent and righteous, "the injured Emperor of the Faithful, and pro- "poſe to him and his Companions to acknow- "ledge their Submiſſion to the Government of

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"the Emperor of the Faithful, *Yezid*; when "they have done that we ſhall conſider of fur- "ther Meaſures." From that Time *Amer*'s Men began to hinder *Hoſein*'s from getting any Water, The Name of the Place where they intercepted him was called *Kerbela*. As ſoon as *Hoſein* heard it, he ſaid, *Kerb* and *bala*, that is, *Trouble* and *Affliction*. At laſt *Hoſein* propoſed a Conference with *Amer* between the two Armies; they came each of them attended by twenty Horſe, who kept their due Diſtance whilſt they diſcourſed. The Contents of their Conference were, (according to *Abulpheda* and ſome others) that *Hoſein* propoſed that he might be admitted to one of theſe three Conditions; Either that he might go to *Yezid*, or elſe have Leave to return back to *Arabia*, or elſe be placed in ſome Garriſon where he might fight againſt the *Turks*. *Amer* wrote Word of this to *Obeidollah*, who ſeemed at firſt to look upon it as a reaſonable Propoſal; till *Shamer* ſtood up and ſwore, that he ought to be admitted to no Terms till he had ſurrendered himſelf, adding, that he had been informed of a long Conference between him and *Amer*. This changed *Obeidollah*'s Mind quite. There is a Tradition from one that attended *Hoſein* all the Way from *Meccah*, and overheard this Conference, which ſays, that *Hoſein* did not aſk of him either to be ſent to *Yezid*, or to be

put

put into any of the Garriſons, but only either that he might have Leave to return to the Place from whence he came or elſe have his Liberty to go where he would about the Country, till he ſhould ſee which way the Inclinations of the People would turn. YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. *cœpit Sept.* 30. *A. C.* 680.

Obeidollah, who was reſolved not to venture *Hoſein* too near *Cufah* for fear of an Inſurrection, ſent *Shamer* to *Amer* with Orders, that if *Hoſein* and his Men would ſurrender themſelves, they ſhould be received; if not, that he ſhould firſt propoſe to *Amer* to fall upon them and kill them, and trample them under their Horſe's Feet; and upon his Refuſal to ſtrike his Head off, and command the Forces himſelf. *Obeidollah* gave a Letter of Protection and Security to four of *Ali*'s Sons, *Abbàs* (whom he had by *Obeidollah*'s Aunt) *Abdollah*, *Jaafar* and *Othman*, which they refuſed to accept, ſaying, That the Security of God was better than that of the Son of [7] *Somyah*. *Obeidollah* had ſent a chiding Letter to *Amer* becauſe of his Remiſsneſs, which made him undertake to fight againſt *Hoſein* himſelf when *Shamer* propoſed it to him, without knowing that his Refuſal was to coſt him his Head. *Amer* drew up his Forces in the Even-

[7] Though *Obeidollah* was not the Son of *Somyah*, but her Grandſon; and it is frequently ſo uſed in the Old Teſtament.

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ing, on the ninth of the Month *Moharram*, and came up to *Hoſein*'s Tent, who was ſitting in his Door juſt after Evening Prayer. He and his Brother *Abbàs* deſired of them to give him Time till the next Morning, and he would anſwer them to any thing they deſired of him. This was granted, and one of *Amer*'s Men ſaid that if a *Deilamite* (a Nation which they mortally hated) had aſked ſuch a ſmall Requeſt, it ought not to have been refuſed. At their firſt advancing he was leaning upon his Sword and nodding. His Siſter came and waked him, and as he lifted up his Head, he ſaid, I ſaw the Prophet in my Dream, who ſaid Thou ſhalt reſt with us. Then ſhe ſtruck her Face, and ſaid, Woe be to us; he anſwered, Siſter you have no reaſon to complain: God have Mercy upon you, hold your peace. In the Night ſhe came ſighing to him again, and ſaid, *Alas* for the Deſolation of my Family! I wiſh I had died Yeſterday, rather than have lived till to Day; my Mother *Phatemah* is dead, and my Father *Ali*, and my Brother *Haſan!* Alas for the Deſtruction that is paſt, and the Dregs of it that remain behind. *Hoſein* looked upon her and ſaid, Siſter, do not let the Devil take away your Temper. Then beating her Face, and tearing open her Boſom, ſhe fell down in a Swoon. *Hoſein* having recovered her with a little cold Water ſaid, "Siſter put your

"Truſt

" Truſt in God, and depend upon the Comfort " that comes from him; and know that the " People of the Earth ſhall die, and the People " of the Heaven ſhall not remain; and every " thing ſhall periſh, but the preſence of God " who created all Things by his Power, and " ſhall make them return, and they ſhall return " to him alone. My Father was better than I, " and my Mother was better than I, and my " Brother was better than I; and I, and they, " and every *Muſleman* has an Example in the " Apoſtle of God." Then charging her not to uſe any ſuch Behaviour after his Death, he took her by the Hand, and led her into her Tent. He told his Friends, that theſe Men wanted no body but him, and deſired them to ſhift for themſelves, and get away if poſſible to their reſpective Habitations; but *Alabbas* told him, they would not, and ſaid, God forbid we ſhould ever ſee the time wherein we ſhould ſurvive you. Then he commanded his Men to cord the Tents cloſe together, and put the Ropes through one another, that the Enemy might not get between them. They made a Line of their Tents, and *Hoſein* in the Night ordered a Trench to be digged at one End of it, into which they threw a good quantity of Wood and Cane, which they ſet on Fire, to prevent their being ſurrounded; ſo that they could be attacked only in the Front.

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They ſpent all that Night in hearty Prayer and Supplication, whilſt all the while the Horſe of the Enemies Guard were riding round about them. The next Morning both ſides prepared themſelves for Battel; and *Hoſein* put his ſmall Forces, which amounted to no more than Two and thirty Horſe, and Forty Foot, into good Order. *Amer* having drawn up his Men, and delivered the Flag to one of his Servants, came very near. In the mean time *Hoſein* went into a Tent, and having firſt waſhed and anointed, he perfumed himſelf with the larger ſort of Muſk: Several of the great Men did the like: One of them aſking what was the meaning of it, another anſwered, Alas! there is nothing between us and the black-eyed Girls, but only that theſe People come down upon us, and kill us. Then *Hoſein* mounted his Horſe, and took the *Alcoran* and laid it before him, and coming up to the People invited them to the Performance of their Duty; adding, *O God, thou art my Confidence in every Trouble, and my Hope in all Adverſity!* He ſet his Son *Ali* on Horſe-back, the eldeſt of that Name, for there were two of them, but he was very ſick. Then he cryed out, hearken to the Advice that I am going to give you; at which they all gave Attention with profound Silence. Then having firſt praiſed God, he ſaid, " O Men! if you will hearken to me

" and

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" and do me Juſtice, it will be better for you, " and you will find no Handle of doing any " thing againſt me: But if you will not hearken " to me, [2] *bring all that are concerned with you* " *together that your Matter be clear, and then* " *make Report of it to me without Delay:* [3] *My* " *Protector is God, who ſent down the Book,* (i.e. " the *Alcoran*) *and he will be the Protector of the* " *Righteous.*"

As ſoon as he uttered theſe laſt Words, his Siſters and Daughters lift up their Voices in Weeping; at which *Hoſſin* ſaid, God reward the Son of *Abbàs*; meaning, becauſe he had adviſed him to leave the Women behind him. Then he ſent his Brother *Alabbàs* and his Son *Ali* to keep them quiet. He next reminded them of his Excellency, the Nobility of his Birth, the Greatneſs of his Power, and his High Deſcent, and ſaid, " Conſider with your ſelves " whether or no ſuch a Man as I am is not " better for you: I who am the Son of your " Prophet's Daughter, beſides whom there is " no other upon the Face of the Earth: *Ali* " was my Father; *Jaafar* and *Hamzah*, the " chief of the Martyrs, were both my Uncles; " and the Apoſtle of God, upon whom be Peace, " ſaid both of me and my Brother, that we were " the chief of the Youth of Paradiſe! If you will

[2] *Alcoran*, C. x. V. 72. [3] vi. 194.

" believe

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" believe me what I ſay is true, for by God, I " never told a Lye in Earneſt ſince I had my " Underſtanding, for God hates a Lye. If you " do not believe me, aſk the Companions of " the Apoſtle of God [*here he named them*] and " they will tell you the ſame. Let me go back " to what I have." They aſked what hindered him from being ruled by the reſt of his Relations. He anſwered, God forbid that I ſhould ſet my Hand to the Reſignation of my Right after a ſlaviſh manner. *I have recourſe to God from every Tyrant that doth not believe in the Day of Account.*

[6] Juſt upon this a Party of about thirty Horſe wheeled about, and came up to *Hoſein*, who expected nothing leſs than to be attacked by them. *Harro* that had met with *Hoſein* firſt was at the head of them. He came to teſtify his Repentance, and proffer his Service to *Hoſein*, declaring that if he had once thought it would ever have come to that Extremity, he would never have intercepted him, but have gone with him directly to *Yezid*; and to make the beſt amends for his Miſtake, that his preſent Circumſtances would admit of, was reſolved to die with him. *Hoſein* accepted his Repentance. And *Harro* ſtood forth and called to the People (to *Amer* in particular) " Alas for you! Will you not accept

[6] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

" thoſe

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" thoſe three Articles, which the Son of the " Apoſtle's Daughter offers you;" *Amer* told him, that if it lay in his Power he would, but *Obeidollah* was againſt it, and had been chiding and reproaching the *Cufians*, for expreſſing the leaſt Inclination to hearken to them. Then ſaid *Harro*, " Alas for you! You invited him till he " came, and then deceived him; and this did " not ſatisfy you, but you are come out to fight " againſt him! Nay you have hindered him, " and his Wives, and his Family, from the Wa- " ter of *Euphrates*, where Jews, and Chriſtians " and Sabians drink, and Hogs and Dogs ſport " themſelves, and he is like a Priſoner in your " Hands, uncapable of doing himſelf either " good or hurt." Then *Amer* ſaid to the Slave, to whom he had given the Flag, Bring up the Colours. As ſoon as they came up to the front of the Troops, *Shamer* ſhot an Arrow, and ſaid, Bear Witneſs that I ſhot the firſt Arrow. The Battel thus begun, they exchanged Arrows a-pace on both ſides. Two of *Amer*'s Men went out, and offered themſelves to ſingle Combat, their Names were *Yaſer* and *Salem*; *Abdollah* the Son of *Amer*, having firſt aſked leave of *Hoſein*, anſwered them, and killed *Yaſer* firſt, and *Salem* next, though *Salem* had firſt cut off all the Fingers of his left Hand. The next that offered himſelf, came up cloſe to *Hoſein*, and ſaid

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ſaid to him, *Hoſein* you are juſt at Hell. To whom *Hoſein* replied; By no means, alas for thee, I go to a merciful Lord, full of Forgiveneſs, eaſy to be obeyed, but you are more worthy of Hell. As he turned about, his Horſe ran away with him, and he fell off: His left Foot hung in the Stirrup, and as he paſſed by one of *Hoſein*'s Men lopped off his right Leg. His Horſe continuing his Speed, his Head was all the way daſhed againſt the Stones, till he died. There were ſeveral ſingle Combats fought, in all which *Hoſein*'s Men were ſuperior, becauſe they fought like Men that were reſolved to die. This made ſome of the leading Men adviſe *Amer* not to expoſe his Men any longer to the hazard of ſingle Combats. Then *Amrou* the Son of *Hejage*, who commanded the right Wing, gave an Onſet with theſe Words in his Mouth, Fight againſt thoſe who ſeparate from the Religion, and from the *Imàm* [*Yezid*] and from the Congregation. Alas! ſaid *Hoſein*, what do you encourage your Men againſt us, are we the Men that ſeparate from the Religion, and you thoſe that keep to it? When your Souls are ſeparated from your Bodies, you will know which of us deſerve Hell Fire moſt. In this Attack *Muſlim* the Son of *Auſájah* was killed, he was the firſt that died on *Hoſein*'s ſide, and *Hoſein* went and commiſerated him at his laſt Gaſp. *Hobeib* ſaid to him, having firſt told him that

that he was near Paradiſe, If I was not ſure that I ſhould ſoon follow you, I would fulfil your Will whatſoever it was: To whom *Muſlim* anſwered in a very low Voice, this is my Will (pointing to *Hoſein*) that you die for him. YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. cœpit Sept. 30. A. C. 680.

Then *Shamer* gave an Onſet with the Left Wing with ſuch Violence, that they came very near to *Hoſein*, but *Hoſein*'s Horſe repulſed them bravely; ſo that they ſent to *Amer* for ſome Archers, who ordered them above Five Hundred. As ſoon as they came up, they let fly their Arrows ſo thick amongſt *Hoſein*'s Horſe, that they were all immediately reduced to Foot. *Harro* perceiving his Horſe wounded, leaped off from him with his Sword in his Hand, as eager as a Lion.

Amer perceiving that they were inacceſſible every where, but in the Front, commanded his Men to pull down the Tents; but that not ſucceeding, for *Hoſein*'s Men killed thoſe that went about it, *Shamer*, God confound him, called for Fire to burn *Hoſein*'s Tent (having firſt ſtruck his Javelin into it) with all that were in it. The Women ſhrieked and ran out of it. How, ſaid *Hoſein*, what wouldſt thou burn my Family? God burn thee in Hell-Fire. One of the great Men came to *Shamer*, and repreſented to him how ſcandalous, and how unbecoming a Soldier it was to ſcare the Women: He began to be aſham-

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aſhamed of it, and was thinking of retreating, when ſome of *Hoſein*'s Men attacked him, and drove him off the Ground with the loſs of ſome of his Men. It was now Noon, and *Hoſein* bad ſome of his Friends ſpeak to them to forbear, till he had ſaid the Prayers proper for that time of Day. One of the *Cufians* ſaid, They will not be heard; *Habib* anſwered, Alas for you, ſhall your Prayers be heard, and not the Prayers of the Apoſtle's Family, upon whom be Peace! *Habib* fought with great Courage till he was killed. Then *Hoſein* ſaid the Noon Prayers amongſt the poor Remainder of his ſhattered Company, and to the reſt of the Office he added the *Prayer of Fear*, never uſed but in Caſes of Extremity. During the time of the Fight he ſaid ſeveral Prayers, in one of which there is this pathetical Expreſſion, *Let not the Dews of Heaven diſtil upon them, and with-hold thou from them the Bleſſings of the Earth, for they firſt invited me and then deceived me.* After the Prayers were over the Fight was renewed with great Vehemency on both Sides, till they came up cloſe to *Hoſein*, but his Friends protected him: One of them killed ten beſides thoſe he wounded; at laſt he was taken, both his Arms being broken, and *Shamer* ſtruck off his Head, *Hoſein*'s Party were now almoſt all cut off, and his eldeſt Son *Ali* was firſt wounded with a Lance, and afterwards

wards cut in Pieces. The reſt were moſt of them ſingled out by the Archers and ſhot. *Hoſein* ſtaid a long time and no body came to him, but he turned back again, for hardly any of them could find in his Heart to kill him. At laſt one came and ſtruck him with a Sword upon the Head and wounded him, ſo that his Head-Piece was full of Blood, which he took off and flung away, ſaying, that he had neither eat nor drank out of it, and bound up his Head in his Turbant. Quite tired out, he ſat down at the Door of his Tent, and took his little Son *Abdollah* upon his Lap, who was preſently killed with an Arrow. *Hoſein* took his Hand full of the Child's Blood, and throwing it towards Heaven, ſaid, *O Lord! If thou with-holdeſt help from us from Heaven, give it to thoſe that are better, and take Vengeance upon the wicked.* At laſt he grew extremely thirſty, and whilſt he was drinking, he was ſhot in the Mouth with an Arrow. He then lift up his Hands to Heaven, which were both full of Blood, and prayed very earneſtly. Then *Shamer* encouraged ſome of the ſtouteſt of his Men to ſurround him: At the ſame time a little Nephew of his, a beautiful Child, with Jewels in his Ears, came to embrace him, and had his Hand cut off with a Sword: To whom *Hoſein* ſaid, *Thy Reward, Child, is with God, thou ſhalt go to thy pious Forefathers.* Then they

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ſurrounded him, and he threw himſelf into the middle of them, charging ſometimes on the Right, and ſometimes on the Left, and which way ſoever he turned himſelf, they flew off as ſo many Deer from before a Lyon. His Siſter *Zeinah*, the Daughter of *Phatemah*, came out and ſaid, I wiſh the Heaven would fall upon the Earth; then turning to *Amer*, ſhe aſked him if he could ſtand by and ſee *Hoſein* killed: Whereupon the Tears trickled down his Beard, and he turned his Face away from her. No body offered to meddle with him, till *Shamer* ſet them on again, with Reproaches and Curſes, one of them, for fear of *Shamer*, threw a Lance at him, but made it fall ſhort, becauſe he would not hurt him. At laſt one wounded him upon the Hand, a ſecond upon the Neck, whilſt a third thruſt him through with a Spear. When he was dead, they cut his Head off. When he was ſearched there were found upon him Three and thirty Wounds, and Four and thirty Bruiſes. *Shamer* intended to have killed *Ali* the youngeſt Son of *Hoſein*, that was afterwards called *Zein Alabedin*, i. e. *The Ornament of the Religious*, who was very Young and very ſick, but one of his Companions diſſwaded him from it. They took *Hoſein*'s Spear, and the reſt of the Spoil, and divided all his Riches, and his Furniture, even ſo far as to take away the Womens richeſt Cloaths:

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Cloaths: And though *Amer* forbad their going near the Women, and had given expreſs Command, that whoſoever had taken any thing from them, ſhould return it again; yet they were never the better, for there was nothing reſtored that they had loſt. [1] *Hoſein*'s Seventy two Men were killed (Seventeen of which were deſcended from *Phatemah*) and on the other ſide, there were Eighty eight killed, beſides the Wounded. Then they rode their Horſes over *Hoſein*'s Body backwards and forwards ſo often, that they trampled it into the very Ground. *Haula*, who had his Head, went away Poſt with it to *Obeidollah*; but finding the Caſtle ſhut, he carried it home to his own Houſe, and told his Wife, that he had brought her the Rarity of the World. The Woman was in a Rage, and ſaid, Other Men make Preſents of Gold and Silver, and you have brought the Head of the Son of the Apoſtle's Daughter: By God, the ſame Bed ſhall never hold us two any more; and immediately leaped out of Bed from him and ran away. He procured another of his Countrywomen to ſupply her Place, who reported afterwards that ſhe was not able to ſleep all that Night, becauſe of a Light which ſhe ſaw ſtreaming up towards Heaven from the Place where *Hoſein*'s Head lay, and white Birds continually hovering about

[1] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. *A.* MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

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it. *Haula* the next Morning carried the Head to *Obeidollah*, who treated it reproachfully, and ſtruck it over the Mouth with a Stick; upon which *Zeid* the Son of *Arkom* ſaid to him, Take away this Stick, for I ſwear by him, beſides whom there is no other God, I have ſeen the Lips of the Apoſtle of God (upon whom be Peace) upon theſe Lips. *Obeidollah* angrily told him, that if he was not an old Man, and out of his Wits, he would ſtrike his Head off.

Zeinab, *Ali*'s Siſter, put on her worſt Cloaths, and, attended by ſome of her Maids, went and ſat down in the Caſtle. *Obeidollah* aſked thrice who ſhe was, before any one told him: As ſoon as he knew her, he ſaid, Praiſe be to God, who hath brought you to Shame, and hath killed you, and proved your Stories to be Lyes: She anſwered, Praiſe be to God, who hath honoured us with *Mahomet* (upon whom be God's Peace) and hath purified us, and not [*dealt with us*] as you ſay, for [*none but*] the Wicked is brought to ſhame, and the lye is given [*to none but*] to the Evil one. He replied, Do not you ſee, how God hath dealt with your Family? She anſwered, Death was decreed for them, and they are gone to their reſting Place; God ſhall bring both you and them together, to plead your ſeveral Cauſes before him. This put him into a Rage, but one of his Friends bad him remem-

member that ſhe was a Woman, and not take any thing amiſs that ſhe ſaid. *Obeidollah* told her, that God had given his Soul full Satisfaction over their Chief [*Hoſein*] and their whole rebellious Family. *Zeinab* anſwered, you have deſtroyed all my Men, and my Family, and cut off my Branch, and tore up my Root: If that be Satisfaction to your Soul, you have it. He ſwore ſhe was a Woman of Courage, adding that her Father was a Poet, and a Man of Courage. She anſwered, that Courage was no Ingredient in a Woman's Character, but ſhe knew how to ſpeak. Then looking upon *Ali*, *Hoſein*'s Son, he commanded him to be ſearched, for he ſaid, he believed he was arrived at Man's Eſtate: Being informed that he was, he commanded him to be Beheaded. Here *Zeinab* all in Tears embraced her Nephew, and aſked *Obeidollah*, if he had not yet drunk deeep enough of the Blood of their Family; and intreated him, if he was reſolved to kill the Lad, to give her leave to die along with him. Young *Ali* begged of him, for the ſake of the near Relation that there was between him and the Women, that he would not ſend them away without ſo much as one Man to attend them in their Journey. *Obeidollah* pauſing a while, and looking ſometimes upon her, and ſometimes upon the People, was aſtoniſhed at her Tenderneſs, and ſwore he believed

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ſhe was in good Earneſt, and had rather die with him, than ſurvive him. At laſt he diſmiſſed him, and bad him go along with the Women; which they looked upon as a very providential Deliverance, and ſaid that *Obeidollah* would have killed *Ali*, but God diverted him from it.

Obeidollah went from the Caſtle to the great Moſque, and going up into the Pulpit, ſaid, *Praiſe be to God, who hath manifeſtly ſhewn the Truth, and thoſe that are in the Poſſeſſion of it; and hath aſſiſted* Yezid *the Governour of the Faithful, and his Party; and killed the Lyar, the Son of the Lyar* Hoſein, *the Son of* Ali *and his Party.* This provoked *Ali*'s Party to the laſt Degree; ſeveral of them roſe up in great Indignation, and amongſt the reſt, there was one who was Blind of both his Eyes, which he had loſt in two ſeveral Battles, and uſed to continue in the Moſque, praying from Morning to Night. He hearing *Ziyàd*'s Speech, he cried out, *O Son of* Merjánah! (that was his Mother's Name) *the Lyar, the Son of the Lyar, are you and your Father, and he that* [7] *gave you your Commiſſion, and his Father. O Son of* Merjanah! *you kill the Sons of the Prophets, and ſpeak the Words of honeſt Men.* Every Man, even of his own Party, blamed him for his Raſhneſs, fearing that he had

[7] That is *Yezid* and *Moawiyah.*

not

not only brought Deſtruction upon himſelf, but upon them too. He was ſeized by *Obeidollah*'s Order, but upon his crying out he was reſcued by his Party, there being about Seven Hundred of them at that Time in Town; but notwithſtanding his Eſcape for the preſent, he was killed ſoon after, and hung upon a Gibbet on the Heath for an Example. YEZID I. An Heg. 61. *cœpit Sept.* 30. *A. C.* 680.

Hoſein's Head was firſt ſet up in *Cufah*, afterwards carried about the Streets, and then ſent to *Yezid* at *Damaſcus*, along with the Women and young *Ali*. When *Obeidollah*'s Expreſs came to *Yezid*, and wiſhed him Joy of his Succeſs, and the Death of *Hoſein*, *Yezid* wept and ſaid, I ſhould have been very well pleaſed without the Death of *Hoſein*: God curſe the Son of *Somyah*; if I had had him in my Power, I would have forgiven him: God loved *Hoſein*, but did not ſuffer him to attain to any thing. *Ali* travelled with a Chain about his Neck; *Shamer* and *Mehphar* conducted them with a Body of Men, but *Ali* would not vouchſafe to ſpeak one Word to them all the Way. 'Tis ſaid, that whilſt they were upon the Road, *Yezid* adviſed with his Courtiers how he ſhould diſpoſe of them: One of them ſaid, Never bring up the Whelp of a Cur; kill *Ali* the Son of *Hoſein*, and extinguiſh the whole Generation of them: At which *Yezid* held his Peace. Another of a

YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. capit Sept. 30. A. C. 680.

milder Temper ſaid, O *Emperor of the Faithful do with them as the Apoſtle of God would do if he were to ſee them in this their Condition.* This moved him to Compaſſion. When he ſaw *Hoſein*'s Head he ſaid, O *Hoſein*, if I had had thee in my Power I would not have killed thee! Then ſitting down he called in the chief of the *Syrian* Nobility, and ordered *Hoſein*'s Wives and Children to be brought before him; but he was very angry when he ſaw the Women appear in ſuch a mean Condition, and ſaid, God curſe the Son of *Somyah*, ſurely if he had ever been related to theſe Women he could never have treated them after this ſcandalous manner. Then turning to *Ali*, he ſaid, This was your Father, who ſet at nought my Right, and joſtled me out of my Government, and God hath diſpoſed of him as you ſee. Whom *Ali* briſkly anſwered with this Verſe in the *Alcoran*, [5] *There is no Calamity befalls you, either in the Earth, or in your own ſelves, but it was in a Book before we created it.* *Yezid*, turning to his Son *Caled*, bad him anſwer him; but *Caled* was Young and Ignorant and had nothing to ſay. Then ſaid *Yezid*, [6] *What Calamity hath befallen you, is what your own Hands have drawn upon you, and he pardoneth a great many.* One of the *Syrians* would have begged *Phatemah*, *Ali*'s Daughter; ſhe was but a little Girl, and could

[5] *Alcoran*, c. lvii. 22. *Alcoran*. c. xlii. 29.

not

not tell, but it might be ſo, and in a great Fright laid hold upon her Siſter *Zeinab*'s Cloaths, who knew very well that it was contrary to the Law, to force any one out of their own Sect, and ſaid [4] *He lies: By God, though I die, it neither is in your Power nor his.* At which *Yezid* was angry, and told her, that it was in his Power, and he would do it if he pleaſed. She told him it was not in his Power to force them out of their own Religion; at which he ſtarted up in a Paſſion and ſaid, Is this the Language that you come before me withal? it was your Father and your Brother that went out from the Religion: Then ſaid ſhe, you, and your Father and Grandfather were all in the Right! This provoked him to ſay, *Thou lyeſt, thou Enemy of God.* How, ſaid *Zeinab*, you the Governour of the Faithful, and reproach us unjuſtly, and make an ill uſe of your Power! At which he bluſhed and held his peace. The *Syrian* petitioning again for *Phatemah*, *Yezid* curſed him, and bad him be quiet. He then ordered them to be conducted to the hot Bath, and ſent them Cloaths and all Proviſions neceſſary for their Refreſhment after the Fatigue of their tedious Journey. He entertained the Women with all

YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. *cœpit Sept.* 30. *A. C.* 680.

[4] She uſed that word, to expreſs her Contempt of him; and gave him the Lye for demanding what was impracticable.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. *capit Sept.* 30. *A. C.* 680.

poſſible Reſpect in his Palace; and *Moawiyah's* Wives came, and kept them Company the ſpace of three Days, mourning for *Hoſein*. So long as they ſtaid, he never walked abroad but he took *Ali* and *Amrou*, *Hoſein's* two Sons, along with him! Once he aſked *Amrou*, who was very little, whether he would fight with his Son *Caled*; *Amrou* immediately anſwered, Give me a Knife, and give him one. An Enemy to the Family of *Ali*, a Court Flatterer, ſaid upon this, Depend upon it always, that one Serpent is the Parent of another.

After they had taken a competent Time for their Refreſhment, and were reſolved upon their Journey to *Medinah*, *Yezid* ſent for his Wives and Children to take their leaves, and commanded *Nòoman*, the Son of *Baſhir*, to accommodate them with all neceſſary Proviſions, and ſend them Home with a ſafe Convoy. When he diſmiſſed them he ſaid to *Ali*, "God curſe the Son "of *Marjànah*; if your Father had fallen into "my Hands, I would have granted him any "Condition he would have deſired, and done "whatſoever lay in my Power to have ſaved "him from Death, though it had been with the "loſs of ſome of my own Children. But God "hath decreed what you ſee: Write to me: "Whatſoever you deſire ſhall be done for "you."

The

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The Perſon to whoſe Care *Yezid* had committed them, behaved himſelf ſo civilly and reſpectfully to them all the Way, (for they travelled in the Night as well as in the Day, and he was very vigilant over them) that *Phatemah* ſaid to her Siſter *Zeinab*; Siſter, this *Syrian* hath behaved himſelf ſo kindly to us, do not you think we ought to make him a Preſent? Alas! ſaid *Zeinab*, we have nothing to preſent him withal but our Jewels: Then ſaid the Girl, let us give him them: She conſented, and they took off their Bracelets and ſent them to him with an Apology, begging of him to accept of them as a Token of their Reſpect for his Courteſy: He modeſtly refuſed them with this generous Anſwer, "*If what I have done had been only with* "*regard to this World, a leſs Price than your* "*Jewels had been a ſufficient Reward; but what* "*I did was for God's Sake, and upon the account* "*of your Relation to the Prophet, God's Peace be* "*upon him.*" When they came to *Medinah* there was ſuch Lamentation made between them and the reſt of the Family of *Haſhem*, as is not to be expreſſed.

[4]There are different Reports concerning *Hoſſein*'s Head: Some ſay it was ſent to *Medinah*, and buried by his Mother; others, that it was buried at *Damaſcus*, in a Place called the Gar-

[4] *Abulpheda.*

den-

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den-Gate, from whence it was removed to *Aſcalon*; and afterwards by the *Chaliphs* of *Ægypt*, to *Grand Cairo*, where they interred it and erected a Monument over it, which they called the [5] Sepulchre of *Hoſein the Martyr*. [6] Thoſe *Ægyptian Chaliphs*, who called themſelves *Phatemites*, and had Poſſeſſion of *Ægypt* from before the Year Four Hundred, till after the Year Six Hundred and Sixty, pretend that *Hoſein*'s Head came into *Ægypt* after the Five Hundredth Year of the *Hegirah*; but the *Imàms* of the Learned ſay, That there is no Foundation for that Story of theirs, but that they only intended by it to make their Pretence to the Nobility of their Extraction paſs more current, ſince they called themſelves *Phatemites*, as being deſcended from *Mahomet*'s Daughter *Phatemah*.

[7] Some pretend to ſhew his Burying Place near the River of *Kerbela*; others ſay that there are no Footſteps of it remaining. [8] The firſt Sultan of the Race of the *Bovides* built a ſumptuous Monument there, which is viſited to this very Day with great Devotion by the *Perſians*: This Sultan called his Edifice by the Name of *Kunbud Faïz*, which ſignifies in the *Perſian* Language, the *Magnificent Dome*; but they now

[5] *Méſhed Hoſein.* [6] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. [7] *Adhàdedoulat.* [8] *D'Herbelot* in *Motawakkel.*

com-

commonly call it in *Arabick Meſhed Hoſein*, The *Sepulchre of* Hoſein *the Martyr*. YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. *cœpit Sept.* 30. *A. C.* 680.

The *Chaliph Almotawakkel*, who began to reign in the Year Two Hundred and Thirty Two, perſecuted the Memory of *Ali* and his Family to that Degree, that he cauſed *Hoſein*'s Sepulchre (called by the *Perſians*, The Holy, Sublime and Pure Place) to be quite razed and deſtroyed, and to obliterate entirely the leaſt Remainder of it, was reſolved to draw a Canal of Water over it; however he was fruſtrated in his Attempt, for the Water would never come near the Tomb, but kept its Diſtance out of Reſpect; from whence that Water was called *Haïr*, which ſignifies *aſtoniſhed* and *reſpectful*, a Name which hath ſince paſſed to the Sepulchre it ſelf, upon the Account of ſuch a Miracle. [2] But there is one *Naïm*, who uſed to be angry with any one that pretended to know the Place of his Burial.

[3] The two Titles which they generally give *Hoſein* in *Perſia* are, that of *Shahîd*, *the Martyr*, or that of *Séyyid*, *the Lord*; and by the Word *Alſeidâni*, which ſignifies *the two Lords*, without adding any thing more, they always underſtand the two eldeſt Sons of *Ali*, who were *Haſan* and *Hoſein*.

They report, that amongſt other Acts of Piety which *Hoſein* practiſed, he uſed every twenty

[2] MS. *Hunt.* Numb. 495. [3] *D'Herbelot.*

four

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four Hours to make a Thouſand Adorations or Proſtrations before God; and that at the Age of five and fifty Years he had gone five and twenty Pilgrimages on Foot; whereas a good Muſleman is not obliged to go above once in his whole Life.

Yezdi, in a Treatiſe concerning [1] the Divine Love, relates, that *Hoſein* having one Day aſked his Father *Ali* if he loved him, and *Ali* having anſwered, that he loved him tenderly; *Hoſein* aſked him once more if he loved God, and *Ali* having alſo anſwered that Queſtion affirmatively, *Hoſein* ſaid to him, Two Loves can never meet in the ſame Heart, neither hath God given a Man two Hearts. At theſe Words *Ali*'s Heart was moved, and they ſay he wept.

Hoſein touched with his Father's Tears, reſumed the Diſcourſe, and ſaid to him, to comfort him; If you had your Choice between the Sin of Infidelity towards God, or my Death, what would you do? *Ali* anſwered, I would ſooner deliver you up to Death than abandon my Faith: Then you may know by this Mark, replied *Hoſein*, that the Love you have for me is only a natural Tenderneſs, and that which you bear towards God is a true Love.

[1] The Title is *Reſâlat phi biyâni'l mehabbat.*

He

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He was killed on the [2] tenth Day of the Month *Moharram*, in the Year of the *Hegirah* 61. This Date is ſo celebrated amongſt the *Perſians*, that to this very Day they call it *the Day of Hoſein, Yaum Hoſein, Râs Hoſein.* . The Memory of, and mourning for this Death, are ſtill annually celebrated among them; and it is this Anniverſary Weeping and extravagant Lamentation that ſtill keeps up the Averſion of this Nation to all the Muſlemans that are not in the ſame Sentiments with themſelves; ſo that it cauſes for that Time an implacable Hatred between the Succeſſors of the Family of *Ommiyah* and *Abbàs*, and all thoſe that do not look upon *Abubeker*, *Omar* and *Othman* to have been Uſurpers, and *Ali* the only Rightful and Lawful Succeſſor of *Mahomet*.

[3] My *Anonymous* Author is very ſevere upon the Sect of *Ali*, both upon the Account of the many Fables they have invented concerning *Hoſein*, and their ſuperſtitious Obſervation of the Day of his Death. Let us hear him in his own Words, "The Sect of *Ali*, ſays he, have forged "a Multitude of abominable Lyes upon this "Occaſion; they ſay that the Sun was eclipſed "upon this Day, ſo that the Stars appeared at

[2] *October* 19. *A. C.* 680. Though the *Engliſh* Reader muſt not ſuppoſe that they keep the ninth of our *October*, but the tenth of *Moharram*, according as it falls, becauſe theirs is the Lunar Year. [3] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

"Noon

YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. *cœpit Sept.* 30. *A. C.* 680.

" Noon Day; that you could not take up a " Stone but there was Blood under it; that the " Sides of the Heavens were turned red, and " when the Sun aroſe the Beams of it looked " like Blood; that the Heavens looked like clot- " ted Blood; that the Stars ſtrook one againſt " the other; that the Heavens rained red Blood, " and that before this Day there was no Redneſs " in the Heavens; that when *Hoſein*'s Head was " brought into the Palace, the Walls dropt with " Blood; that the Earth was darkned for the " Space of three Days; that no body could " touch any Saffron or [a] Juniper all that Day " but it burnt his Fingers: that there was ne- " ver a Stone taken up in *Jeruſalem* but there " was clotted Blood under it; and that when " one of *Hoſein*'s Camels that was killed was " boiled, the Fleſh of it was as bitter as *Colo-* " *quintida*; beſides innumerable other Lyes " without any manner of Foundation: But this " is true, that they that had a Hand in his " Death dwindled away and came to nothing; " but ſoon fell ſick, and moſt of them died mad. " In the Time of the Government of the Fa- " mily of the *Bowides*, they uſed to keep this " Day as a Solemn Faſt, and throw Duſt and " Aſhes about the Streets of *Bagdad*, and cloath " themſelves with black Sack-cloth, and expreſs

[a] *Arab* Wars.

the

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" the higheſt Degree of Sorrow and Lamenta-
" tion: A great many of them would drink no
" Water, in Conformity to *Hoſein*, who was
" killed when he was thirſty; all which are
" abominable Inventions and vile Practices con-
" trived on purpoſe to caſt an Aſperſion upon
" the Government of the Houſe of *Ommiyah*,
" becauſe he was killed in their Time. Now
" they that killed him, urge againſt him, that
" he came to depoſe a Perſon that was ſet over
" them by the Conſent of the People, and to
" make a Diviſion amongſt them, which was
" firſt begun by *Muſlim*; but ſome of the Doc-
" tors caution againſt this with the utmoſt In-
" dignation, as a pernicious and dangerous way
" of arguing: They determine thus; If a cer-
" tain Number did interpret [*the Law*] againſt
" him and kill him, they had nothing to do to
" kill him, but it was their Duty to have ac-
" corded to him one of his three Propoſals;
" [4] and if a Party of inſolent Fellows find fault
" with a whole People and riſe againſt its Pro-
" phet (upon whom be God's Peace) the Mat-
" ter is not to be [*determined*] according to their
" Practice and Example, but according to the
" Majority of the Nation both Ancient and
" Modern: Thoſe that were concerned in *Ho-
" ſein*'s Death, were only a ſmall Handful of

[4] MS. *Hunt.* Numb. 495.

" *Cu-*

YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. *cœpit Sept.* 30. *A. C.* 680.

" *Cufians*, (God confound them) and the greateſt " Part of them had written to him, and brought " him into their pernicious Counſels and De- " ſigns; neither did all that Army [*that went* " *againſt him*] approve of that which fell out, " nor did *Yezid* the Son of *Moawiyah*, the Go- " vernour of the Faithful, at that Time approve " of his Death, (though God knows) nor had " any Averſion to him: What appears moſt " probable is, that if he had had him in his " Power before he was killed, he would have " ſpared his Life according to his Father's Di- " rection, as he ſaid he would himſelf.

" Now every Muſleman ought to be concern- " ed at this Accident of his Death (God ac- " cept him) for he was one of the Lords of the " Muſlemans, and one of the learned Men of " the Society, and the Daughter's Son of the " Apoſtle of God, who was the moſt excellent " of his Daughters, and he was devout, coura- " gious and munificent; yet notwithſtanding all " this, what theſe People do in making an out- " ward Shew of Sorrow, which perhaps is the " Caſe of moſt of them, is not at all becoming. " His Father was a better Man than him, yet " they did not keep the Day upon which he was " murdered, as they do that of *Hoſein*; and *Ali* " was killed as he went out to Morning Prayer, " on the ſeventeenth of the Month *Ramadan* in

" the

" the fortieth Year: And *Othman* the Son of " *Affàn* was a better Man than *Ali*, according " to thoſe that follow the Tradition and the [a] " Church; and he was killed after he had been " beſieged in his own Houſe, in the hot Days " of the Month *Du'lhagiah*, in the thirty ſixth " Year; and he was cut from one jugular Vein " to the other, and yet the People never kept " his Day: And ſo in like manner *Omar* the " Son of *Alchitáb* was a better Man than *Oth-* " *man*, he was killed as he was ſaying the Pray- " ers in the *Imám*'s Deſk and was reading the " *Alcoran*, and his Day was never kept; and " *Abubeker* was a better Man than he, but the " Day of his Death was never obſerved: And " the Apoſtle of God, upon whom be Peace, " who is abſolute Lord of all the Sons of Men, " both in this World and that which is to come; " God took him to himſelf even as the Prophets " before him died; yet the Muſlemans never " made ſuch a Stir about the Obſervation of " the Day of his Death as a ſolemn Day, as " theſe Fools do about the Day in which *Hoſein*

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[a] What the *Jews* call עֵדָה *Edah*, the *Greeks* ἐκκλησία, and we in *Engliſh Church*, the *Arabians* call *jemáah*, and mean the very ſame thing by it, *viz.* The Congregation of the Faithful united under their lawful *Imàm*, or, Head: And they denominate as we do, thoſe that ſeparate from them, according to their particular Tenets or Opinions.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. ex pit Sept. 30. A. C. 680.

" was killed." Thus far my Author in his own Words.

[9] This ſame Year *Yezid* made *Salem*, the Son of *Ziyàd*, Lieutenant of *Sejeſtan* and *Choraſàn*, when he came Ambaſſador to him; he was then Twenty Four Years of Age; as ſoon as he came to his Charge he gathered together a ſelect Number of Forces, and the beſt Horſes that could be found, in order to make an Invaſion upon the *Turks*. He carried his Wife along with him, (the firſt *Arabian* Woman that ever paſſed over that River) who was brought to Bed of a Son in that part of the Country which is called the *Sogd* of *Samarcand*, being the neighbouring Plains and Villages that lye round about that City, from whence he was afterwards Sirnamed *Sogdi*, that is the *Sogdian*: When ſhe lay in ſhe ſent to the Duke of *Sogd*'s Lady to borrow her Jewels; ſhe ſent her her Golden Crown that was full of them, which ſhe had not the good Manners to reſtore again, but carried it along with her upon the Return of the *Arabians*. *Salem* ſent *Mohalleb* to *Chowarezm*, the chief City of the *Turks*, who were willing to purchaſe Peace at any Rate; he aſſeſſed them and their Cattle at ſo much a Head, that the Sum aroſe to fifty Millions: *Salem* having taken out of it what he thought fit, ſent the reſt to *Yezid*. He then marched

[9] MS. *Laud.* Numb. 161. *A.*

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forwards towards *Samarcand*, the Inhabitants whereof made their Peace with a vaſt Sum of Money. This ſame Year, in the beginning of the Month *Du'lhagiah*, *Yezid* made *Waled* the Son of *Otbah* Governour of *Medinah*, who headed the People on Pilgrimage to *Meccah* both this and the following Year. *Baſorah* and *Cufah* were ſtill in the Hands of *Obeidollah*. YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. *cæpit Sept.* 30. *A.C.* 680.

Hoſein being removed, *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, who had never ſubmitted to *Yezid*'s Government, began now to declare publickly againſt him, and depoſed him at *Medinah*. The Inhabitants of *Meccah* and *Medinah*, perceiving that *Yezid* did all that lay in his power to ſuppreſs the Houſe of *Ali*, rebelled againſt him, and proclaimed *Abdollah* for their *Chaliph*. As ſoon as he had taken their Suffrages, to ſtrengthen his Intereſt by Popularity, he made long Speeches to the People, wherein he aggravated all the Circumſtances of *Hoſein*'s Death to the laſt degree, and repreſented the *Irakians* in general, and the *Cufians* in particular, as the moſt perfidious Villains upon the face of the Earth: How they had invited him firſt, and baſely betrayed him afterwards: What a ſcandalous Propoſal they had offered a Perſon of his Dignity, either of ſurrrendering himſelf into the Hands of the Son of *Ziyàd*, or elſe fighting them at ſo great a diſadvantage: How heroically he had behaved

YEZID I. An. Heg. 61. incipit Sept. 30. A. C. 680.

himſelf in preferring an honourable Death to an ignominious Life: He magnified his Merits, and reminded them of his exemplary Sanctity, his frequent Watchings, Faſtings and Prayers; in a word, whatſoever might contribute towards the endearing his Memory, and ſtir up in the People a deſire of Revenge, and an utter Abhorrence and Deteſtation of that Government which was the Cauſe of his death. The People who were always well affected to *Hoſein* heard theſe Diſcourſes with delight, and *Abdollah*'s Party grew very ſtrong. When *Yezid* heard of his Progreſs he ſwore he would have him in Chains, and accordingly ſent a Silver Collar for him to *Merwan* then Governour of *Medinah*, with Orders to put it about his Neck, and ſend him with it to *Damaſcus*, in caſe he perſiſted in his Attempts; but *Abdollah* ridiculed both them and their Collar.

There was at this time one *Abdollah* the Son of *Amrou* in *Ægypt*, a Perſon of great repute for his profound Underſtanding: He uſed to ſtudy the Prophet *Daniel*. *Amrou* the Son of *Saïd*, Governour of *Meccah*, ſent to him to know what he thought of this Man, meaning *Abdollah*, the Son of *Zobeir*: He anſwered, That he thought of him no otherwiſe than as of a Man that would carry his Point, and live and dye a King. This Anſwer from a Man of his Character

racter gave great Encouragement to *Abdollah* and his Party, for it had a great Influence upon the generality of the People. *Amrou* the Son of *Saïd*, the Governour of *Meccah*, was in his Heart a mortal Enemy to *Abdollah* and his Pretenſions, yet ſtill he thought it the beſt way to carry it fair with him. Some of *Yezid*'s Courtiers repreſented to him, that if *Amrou* had been heartily in his Intereſt, it was in his power to have ſeized *Abdollah* and ſent him to him; upon which Suggeſtion *Yezid* removed him, and put *Waled* the Son of *Otbah* into his Place. YEZID I. An. Heg. 62. *cœpit Sept.* 19. *A. C.* 681.

[2] As ſoon as *Waled* had taken Poſſeſſion of his new Government of *Meccah*, he began to exert his Authority by impriſoning Three Hundred of the Servants and Dependants of his Predeceſſor *Amrou*. *Amrou* ſent a private Meſſage to them to bid them break the Priſon at ſuch an Hour, promiſing them that there ſhould be a ſufficient number of Camels ready for them kneeling in the Street; which they ſhould immediately mount, and repair to him, who was going to wait upon *Yezid*. This ſucceeded; and when *Amrou* came before *Yezid* he firſt received him courteouſly, and bad him ſit down by him, and then began to rebuke him for his Remiſſneſs in the execution of his Commands, and not taking ſufficient care to ſuppreſs *Abdollah*. To

[2] *An Heg.* 62. cœpit Sept. 19. A. C. 681.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 62. *capit Sept.* 19. *A.C.* 681.

which he anſwered, "Governour of the Faithful, he that is preſent ſees more than he that is abſent; the greateſt Part of the People of *Hejaz* and *Meccah* were favourably inclined to his Party, and encouraged one another as well in publick as in private; beſides, I had no Forces ſufficient to oppoſe them, if I had attempted it; however he was always upon his Guard and in fear of me, and I carried it fair with him in order to take a proper Opportunity of getting him into my Power; Notwithſtanding his Intereſt and Caution I ſtreightened him, and hindered him from doing a great many Things; I placed Men round about the Streets and Paſſages of *Meccah*, that ſuffered no Man to paſs till he had written down his own Name and his Father's, and from which of God's Countries he came, and what was his Buſineſs: And if he was any of his Friends, or whom I ſuſpected to favour his Deſigns, I ſent him packing; if otherwiſe, I permitted him quietly to go about his Concerns; and now you have ſent *Waled* the Son of *Otbah*, who in all probability will give you ſuch an account of his Adminiſtration, as will juſtify my Conduct, and convince you of the ſincerity of my Advice." *Yezid* was very well ſatisfied, and told him, "that he was an honeſter Man than they that had incenſed him againſt him,

" him, and that he ſhould depend upon him " for the future?" [7] In the mean time the new Governour *Waled* was imploying all his Skill to enſnare *Abdollah*, who was always upon his Guard, and was ſtill too cunning for him. There was at the ſame time upon the Death of *Hoſein*, one *Naidah* a *Yemamian*, that appeared with a body of Men, not againſt *Abdollah*, but *Yezid*; as for *Abdollah*, he and *Naidah* were ſo familiar, that it was generally believed, that *Naidah* would give him his Allegiance. Quickly after [8] *Abdollah* ſent a Letter to *Yezid*, complaining that he had ſent a Fool of a Governour thither, that was not capable of ſuch a Truſt: That if he ſent a Man of a tractable Diſpoſition, their Differences might be compromiſed as well for the good of the Publick, as their own in particular. *Yezid*, deſirous of Peace upon any Terms, indiſcreetly hearkens to the Advice of his mortal Enemy, removes *Waled*, and ſends *Othman* the Son of *Mahomet* and Grandſon of *Abuſophyan*: This *Othman* was by no means qualified for a Truſt of that Importance, being raw, ignorant, and altogether unexperienced, not capable of looking into any Part of his Buſineſs. He ſent Ambaſſadors from *Medinah* to *Yezid*, who received them kindly, and gave them Preſents; but they took ſuch Offence at his converſation, that when they re-

YEZID I. An. Heg. 62. *cœpit Sept.* 19. *A. C.* 681.

[7] MS. *Laud.* Num. 191. A. [8] MS. *Hunt.* Naidah.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 62. cœpit Sept. 19. A.C. 681.

turned, they did all they could to inflame the People againſt him: They told the *Medinians* that they were come from a Man that had no Religion at all; that he was frequently drunk with Wine, and minded nothing but his Tabors, his ſinging Wenches, and his Dogs; that he uſed to ſpend whole Evenings in talking with vile Fellows, and ſinging Girls, and they declared that for their Part, they did depoſe him; in which Action they were followed by a great many, and it is ſaid that they gave their Allegiance to one *Abdollah* the Son of *Hantelah*. *Almundir*, who was one of the Ambaſſadors, did not return with them to *Medinah*, but went to *Obeidollah* to *Baſſorah*, who entertained him in his Houſe, with a great deal of Friendſhip, for they were old Acquaintance. As ſoon as *Yezid* was informed, how the reſt of the Ambaſſadors had uſed him at *Medinah*, he wrote to *Obeidollah* to bind *Almundir*, and keep him cloſe till further Orders. *Obeidollah* looked upon this to be a breach of the Rules of Hoſpitality, and inſtead of obeying the Order, ſhewed it to *Almundir*, adviſing him when the People were come together, to pretend very urgent Buſineſs, and in the Preſence of them all to aſk leave to be gone. This granted, away goes *Almundir* full of Reſentment to *Medinah*, and there confirms all that the other Ambaſſadors had ſaid before to the Reproach

proach of *Yezid*; adding, that though he confeſſed that *Yezid* had preſented him with an Hundred Pieces, yet that could not influence him ſo far, as to hinder him from ſpeaking what he was a Witneſs of, relating to his Drunkenneſs, idle Converſation, and neglecting the Prayers oftner than any of his Men. *Yezid* was informed of all, and vowed to be revenged on him for his Ingratitude. YEZID I. An. Heg. 62. *cœpit Sept.* 19. *A. C.* 681.

Then *Yezid* ſent *Nóoman* the Son of *Baſhìr* to *Medinah*, to quiet the People, and perſuade them to return to their Duty and Allegiance: When he came there, he repreſented to them the folly of their Proceedings, and the Danger they expoſed themſelves to, by ſuch ſeditious Practices; aſſuring them that they were not a Match for the Forces of *Syria*. One of them aſked him what Motive induced him to come upon ſuch an Errand, and make Diviſion among them after they were agreed? *Nóoman* told him, Becauſe he was loath there ſhould be any Blood ſhed between the two Parties, and ſee theſe poor Creatures (meaning the *Anſars* or Inhabitants of *Medinah*) killed in their Streets, and Moſques, and in the Doors of their own Houſes. They would not be ruled by him, and he left them; but what he gave them fair Warning of, they found afterwards too true.

The

YEZID I. An. Heg. 62. cœpit Sept. 19. A. C. 681.

The *Medinians* in their Obſtinacy having renounced all Allegiance to *Yezid*, ſet over the *Koreiſh*, *Abdollah* the Son of *Mothi*, and over the *Anſars*, *Abdollah* the Son of *Hantelah*, a Noble Perſon of excellent Endowments, very Religious, and very much reverenced by all: He had Eight Sons went along with him on the Embaſſy. *Yezid* preſented him with an Hundred Thouſand Pieces, and every one of his Sons with Ten Thouſand; beſides their Veſts. In the beginning of the Sixty Third Year they broke out into open Rebellion, after this manner: When they were gathered together in the Moſque round about the Pulpit, one of them ſaid, *I lay aſide* Yezid *as I lay aſide this Turbant*, throwing his Turbant againſt the Ground. Another ſaid, *I put away* Yezid *as I put away this Shoe*; which Examples were followed till there was a great Heap of Shoes and Turbants. The next ſtep they took was to turn out *Yezid*'s Lieutenant *Othman*, and baniſh all the Family of *Ommiyah*, together with all their Friends and Dependants, from *Medinah:* They being about a Thouſand, took Refuge in *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem*'s Houſe, where the *Medinians* beſieged them ſo cloſely that they ſent word to *Yezid*, That unleſs they received ſpeedy Relief they muſt inevitably periſh. *Yezid* wondered, when he heard they were ſo many, that they ſhould ſuffer

ſuffer themſelves to be ſo confined without making the leaſt Reſiſtance, and aſked *Amrou*, the Son of *Saëd*, Whom he thought the fitteſt Perſon to be ſent upon this Expedition; offering it at the ſame time to him: *Amrou* excuſed himſelf, and told him, That he had done him all the Service he could there before, and he was pleaſed to remove him from his Government; now ſince the Blood of the *Coreiſh* was to be poured upon the Duſt, he begged that ſomebody not ſo nearly related to them as he was, might be imployed in that Buſineſs. Upon this he ſends for *Meſlém*, the Son of *Okbah*, who, though very ancient and infirm, was willing to undertake the Command of the Forces, conſiſting of Twelve Thouſand Horſe and Five Thouſand Foot. *Meſlém* told *Yezid* that thoſe Thouſand Men that ſuffered themſelves to be ſo diſtreſſed without fighting did not deſerve any Aſſiſtance; That they had neither ſhewn perſonal Courage nor Loyalty to their Sultan; That they ought to be let alone till they had exerted themſelves, and deſerved Encouragement; but *Yezid* told him that his Life would do him no good if they were not ſafe. *Yezid* rode about with his Sword by his ſide, and an *Arabian* Bow over his Shoulders, viewing the Troops, and giving Directions to his General *Meſlém*; particularly, That he ſhould take care of *Ali*, the

YEZID I. An. Heg. 63. *incipit Sept.* 9. *A. C.* 682.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 63. *cœpit Sept.* 9. *A.C.* 682.

the Son of *Hoſein*, concerning whom he had been informed that he was not at all in the Meaſures of the Rebels, nor any of his Family, wherefore he commanded him to ſhew him reſpect, and place him next him. That as for the Town, he ſhould ſummons it Three Days ſucceſſively, and if they did not ſurrender themſelves upon the Summons, after he had taken it he ſhould leave it for Three Days entirely to the Mercy of the Soldiers.

The *Medinians* refuſed to ſurrender, and the General made Preparations for a Storm; he was adviſed to make his Aſſault on the Eaſt-ſide, that the Beſieged might have the Sun in their Faces; this proved of ſervice to him: The *Medinians* made a vigorous Defence; they had made a large Ditch round about the City, and held out a conſiderable time, till in the end moſt of the *Anſars* and conſiderable Men being killed; they finding themſelves preſſed would have ſurrendered, but *Meſlém*, from whoſe Hands they refuſed Peace at the beginning of the Siege, would not receive them but at Diſcretion.

Then entering the City with Sword in Hand, he firſt ſent for *Ali* and treated him with reſpect, and to quiet all his Apprehenſions of Fear, and diſmiſs him honourably, he called for his own Camel and ſent him home upon it; then they put all to the Sword that they met, plundered every

every thing that was valuable, and got a Thouſand of the Women with Child. Without any reverence to its being the Burying-Place of the Prophet they ſacked it for Three Days, and thoſe that eſcaped the edge of the Sword *Meſlém* took under the Protection of the Government, but only upon this Condition, [7] That they ſhould own themſelves Slaves and Vaſſals to *Yezid*; upon which Account he purchaſed the Name of *Muſriph*, which ſignifies in *Arabick*, *extravagant*, *exorbitant*, becauſe he had exceeded in the execution of his Orders. This Battle was fought when there were Three Nights left of the Month *Dulhagiah*. YEZID I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

Meſlém having thus ſeverely chaſtiſed the Inſolence of the *Medinians*, marched directly with his Army towards *Meccah*, but died by the way, in the Month *Moharram* of the Sixty fourth Year. Upon his Death, *Hoſein* took upon him the command of the Army, and Beſieged *Abdollah* in *Meccah* the Space of Forty Days, during which time he battered it ſo roughly that he beat down a great part of the Temple, and burnt the reſt; and this City had run the ſame Fortune with *Medinah*, if the News of *Yezid*'s Death had not recalled *Hoſein* into *Syria*.

[8] *Abdollah* heard of *Yezid*'s Deceaſe before the *Syrian* Army had received any Intelligence of

[7] *Abulpheda*. [8] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

it,

YEZID I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

it, and called out to them from the Walls, and aſked them what they fought for, for their Maſter was dead: But they would not believe him, but continued their Siege with great Vigour, till they received further Information. *Hoſein* having heard that News, told *Abdollah* that he was of Opinion, that it would be the beſt way to forbear ſhedding any more Blood, and proffered him his Allegiance, if he would accept of the Government, aſſuring him that all this Army, wherein were the leading Men of all *Syria*, would be in his Intereſt, and that there was no fear of any Oppoſition; but he durſt not truſt him: As they were talking together, juſt where the Pidgeons that flew from the Temple of *Meccah* were pecking ſomething upon the Ground, *Hoſein* turned his Horſe aſide, which *Abdollah* taking notice of, aſked him the Reaſon; he ſaid he was afraid his Horſe ſhould kill the Temple Pidgeons; *Abdollah* aſked him how he could ſcruple that, and at the ſame time kill the *Muſſemans*? *Hoſein* told him that he would not fight againſt him any more, and only deſired that they might have leave to go round the Temple of *Meccah*, before their Departure; which was granted. Some ſay that that Temple was not ſet on Fire by the Engines, but that *Abdollah* hearing in the Night a ſhouting from the Mountains of *Meccah*, put Fire

Fire upon the end of a Spear, to ſee if he could make any Diſcovery; which being wafted with the Wind, the Sparks laid hold firſt on the Hangings, and then took the Wood-work. *Abdollah* afterwards, when it was too late, repented his Refuſal of *Hoſein*'s Proffer; and thoſe of the Houſe of *Ommiyah*, that were in *Medinah*, accompanied *Hoſein* into *Syria*.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

[8] *Yezid* died in *Hawwarin*, in the Territories of *Hems*, when four Nights were paſſed of the firſt *Rebiyah*, in the ſixty fourth Year of the *Hegirah*, in the Thirty ninth Year of his Age, after he had Reigned three Years and ſix Months. He was a Man of a ruddy Complexion, with curled Hair, black Eyes, pitted with the Small-Pox: He had a handſome Beard, and was a thin tall Man, he left behind him ſeveral Children of both Sexes: His Son *Caled* is reported to have been ſkilled in the Art of Alchimy, and his Son *Abdollah* to have been the moſt exact Archer of all the *Arabians* in his time. His Mother's Name was *Meiſûn* of the Family of the *Kelabi*; ſhe was an excellent Poeteſs, and had pleaſed *Moawiyah*'s Fancy to that degree with ſome of her Verſes, that he made her go back into the Deſart amongſt her own Relations, and take her Son *Yezid* along with her, that he might be brought up a Poet

[8] *Abulpheda.*

too.

YEZID I. An. Heg. 64. cœpit Aug. 29. A. C. 683.

too. This Part of his Education ſucceeded, for he was reckoned to excell that way, though his chief Talent conſiſted in making a drunken Catch.

[1] It is obſerved of him, that he was the firſt *Chaliph* that drank Wine publickly, and was waited upon by Eunuchs; beſides they reproach him with bringing up, and being fond of Dogs, which the more ſcrupulous *Mahometans* have in Abomination.

But the greateſt Vices of this *Chaliph*, were his Impiety and Covetouſneſs, which occaſioned a [2] certain Author to ſay, that to make the Empire of the *Muſlemans* flouriſh, it ought to be in the Hands of Princes either pious, ſuch as were the firſt four *Chaliphs*, or liberal, as *Moawiyah*; but when it was governed by a Prince that had neither Piety nor Generoſity, ſuch an one as *Yezid*, all would be loſt.

[3] The *Mahometan* Doctors look upon *Yezid*'s allowing the Soldiers to commit ſuch abominable Outrages in the City of the Prophet, [4] and ſuffering it to be ſo prophaned, as a very wicked Action: They do not ſcruple to ſay, that he did it, imagining to preſerve his Life and Government; but God dealt with him as a Tyrant, and the being cut off in the Flower

[1] *D'Herbelot.* [2] *Rabi Alakyar.* [3] MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. [4] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

of

YEZID I. An. Heg. 64. *expit Aug.* 29. A. C. 683.

of his Age, was a Judgment inflicted upon him for that Presumption. They quote this saying of *Mahomet*, *Whoever injureth* Medinah *shall melt away, even as Salt melteth away in the Water.*

[a] All the *Persian* Authors never mention him but with abomination, and ordinarily add this Imprecation to his Name, *Laanabûllah*, that is, *The curse of God be upon him*; which they do not do upon the account of his Vices, but because of the Death of *Hosein*, the Son of *Ali*, whom he attempted to destroy by Poison, and whom he afterwards caused to be killed with all his Family on the Plains of *Kerbelah*.

Under his *Chaliphate* the *Muslemans* conquered all *Chorasân* and *Chowarezm*, and put the Estates of the Prince of *Samarkand* under Contribution. The Motto of his Seal was, *God is our Lord.*

[a] *D'Herbelot.*

The Third Chaliph *of the House of* Ommiyah, (*being the Eighth from* MAHOMET.)

MOAWIYAH,

The Son of YEZID.

Moawiyah II. An. Heg. 64. Sept. Aug. 29. A. C. 683.

AS soon as *Yezid* was dead, his Son *Moawiyah* was proclaimed *Chaliph* at *Damascus*; he was near one and twenty Years of Age,[1] a religious young Man and of a very weak Constitution; he was of the Sect of the *Alcadarii* (who are a Branch of the *Motázeli*, and differ in their Opinions from the Orthodox *Muslemans* in that they deny God's Decree, and assert Free-Will; affirming, that the contrary Opinion makes God the Author of Evil) and his favourite Master was *Omar Almeksous*: Him he consulted to know whether he ought to accept the *Chaliphate* or not: His Master told him, that if he found himself able to administer Justice exactly to the *Muslemans*, and to acquit himself of all the Du-

[1] *Abulpheda. Abulpheragius. D'Herbelot.*

ties

ties of that Dignity, that he ought to accept it; otherwiſe that he ought not to charge himſelf with it. Moawiyah II. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A.C.* 683.

This *Chaliph* had ſcarce reigned the Space of ſix Weeks, but he found himſelf too weak to ſuſtain the Weight of the Government, and took a Reſolution to lay it down. To this End he called a Council of the Greateſt Men of the Court, and told them, That when he firſt entertained the Thought of abdicating himſelf, he deſigned to follow the Example of *Abubeker*, and nominate a Succeſſor as that firſt *Chaliph* had done his; but that he had not found, as he had done, Men like *Omar* upon whom to ſettle his Choice. Then he told them, that he had alſo a Deſign of imitating *Omar*, and naming ſix Perſons upon one of which the Choice ſhould fall by Lot; but that he had not found ſo many among them capable of it, and therefore could not determine himſelf to fix upon that Number.

I am therefore reſolved, added he, to leave the Choice entirely to your Diſpoſal; upon which the principal Stateſmen having told him, that they had nothing to do but to chuſe that Perſon amongſt them that he ſhould pleaſe, and that all the reſt would obey him, *Moawiyah* anſwered them in theſe Terms; As I have not hitherto enjoyed the Advantages of the *Chaliphate*, it is not reaſonable that I ſhould charge

Moawiyah II. An. Heg. 64. apit Aug. 29. A. C. 683.

my ſelf with the moſt odious Part that belongs to it; therefore I hope that you will not take it amiſs if I diſcharge my Conſcience towards you, and that you judge for yourſelves who is moſt capable amongſt you to fill my Place.

As ſoon as *Moawiyah* had made his Abdication in ſo good Form, they proceeded to the Election of a *Chaliph*, and the Choice fell upon *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem*, who was the Fourth of the *Chaliphs* of *Syria*; *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir* having been declared *Chaliph* in *Arabia*, *Irâk*, *Choraſân*, *Ægypt*, and a great Part of *Syria*.

Moawiyah had no ſooner renounced the *Chaliphate* but he ſhut himſelf up in a Chamber, from whence he never ſtirred till he died, ſome ſay of the Plague, others by Poiſon, not long after his Abdication; and they ſay that the Family of *Ommiyah* was ſo very much irritated at his Proceeding, that they made their Reſentment break out upon the Perſon of *Omar Almekſous*, whom they buried alive, becauſe they ſuppoſed that he had adviſed *Moawiyah* to depoſe himſelf. This *Chaliph* was nick-named *Abuleilah*, that is to ſay, *The Father of the Night*, becauſe of his natural Weakneſs and want of Health, which hindered him from appearing much abroad in the Day time. The Inſcription of his Seal was, *The World is a Cheat.*

We

Moawiyah II. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

[a] We muſt now look backwards a little towards the Eaſtern Parts of the Empire. As ſoon as *Obeidollah* heard of *Yezid*'s Death, he acquainted the *Baſorians* with it in a ſet Speech, wherein he repreſented, "the near Relation that he had "to them, that the Place of his Nativity was "amongſt them, that as appeared by the Books, "he had ſince his Government over them de"ſtroyed an Hundred and Forty Thouſand of "their Enemies; that there was no Perſon left "of any Conſideration whom they need to fear, "but what was already in their Priſons; That "they were every way the moſt conſiderable "Nation in the Empire, both with regard to "their Courage, Number and Extent of Coun"try; that they were very well able to ſubſiſt "independent on any help, but that the reſt of "the Provinces were not able to ſubſiſt with"out them: That there was a Faction in "*Syria*, and till that was appeaſed, he thought "it adviſeable for them to chuſe a Perſon duly "qualified to be the Protector of their State: "That after that was done, if the *Muſlemans* "agreed upon a Succeſſor that they approved, it "would be well; if otherwiſe, they might con"tinue as they were, till they did." The *Baſorians* approved of his Propoſal, and told him, that they knew no Perſon ſo well qualified for ſuch a Truſt as himſelf: He refuſed it ſeveral

[a] MS. *Laud.* Numb. 161. A.

Moawiyah II. An. Heg. 64. cæpit Aug. 29. A. C. 683.

times, affectedly as may be ſuppoſed by his Speech, but accepted it at laſt, overcome by their Importunity: So they gave him their Hands to be ſubject to him till all things were ſettled, and the *Muſlemans* were agreed upon an *Imàm* or *Chaliph*. This done he ſent a Meſſenger to the *Cufians*, to perſuade them to follow the Example of the *Baſorians*: The *Cufians* received the Meſſage with Indignation, and were ſo far from complying with it, that they flung Duſt upon their Governour. Though the *Cufians* did not follow the Example of the *Baſorians*, yet the *Baſorians* followed theirs; for perceiving the Repulſe he met with at *Cufah*, they revoked their Subjection to him; and the Faction ran ſo high, that finding *Baſorah* too warm for him, he made the beſt of his way into *Syria*.

There was at that time in the Treaſury of *Baſorah* ſixteen Millions of Money, part of which he divided among his Relations; the Remainder he carried along with him: He would have perſuaded the *Najàri*, which are a Tribe of the *Arabian Anſars*, to have fought for him, but they refuſed it, as did alſo all his own Relations; for he had rendered himſelf ſo obnoxious by his Cruelty, that he was dreaded and abhorred by all, beloved by none. His Brother *Abdollah* told the *Baſorians*, that ſince they had promiſed their Subjection, he and his Brother *Obeidollah* would not fly away from them, but

ſtay

ſtay and be killed, and leave it as a reproach upon them till the Day of Judgment. *Obeidollah* lay concealed in Women's Cloaths in *Meſoud*'s Houſe, who adviſed him to ſcatter Money liberally among the People, and oblige them to renew their Oath: *Abdollah* his Brother tryed his utmoſt with Two hundred thouſand Pieces, and *Meſoud* ſtirred for him as much as he was able, till at laſt he was killed in the Tumult, though upon an old Grudge. *Obeidollah* was at laſt conſtrained to fly, and as ſoon as he was gone, they plundered his Effects, and purſued him. He had an hundred Men with him, that were left him by *Meſoud*. In the Night time he grew weary of Riding upon his Camel, and exchanged it for an Aſs. One of his Friends obſerving him riding in that manner with his Feet dangling down to the Ground, began to reflect upon the Uncertainty of Human Affairs, and ſay to himſelf, This Man was Yeſterday Governour of *Irák*, and is now forced to make his Eſcape upon an Aſs: Then riding up to him (for he had been ſilent a long time) he aſked him if he was aſleep, he ſaid No, he was talking to himſelf; the other told him, he knew what it was that he talked to himſelf; and that was, *I wiſh I had not killed* Hoſein. *Obeidollah* told him he was miſtaken, for he choſe rather to kill *Hoſein*, than to be killed by him: Then having firſt men-

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tioned ſome part of his Subſtance, and how he intended to diſpoſe of it, he ſaid, what he was ſorry for, and what he was ſpeaking to himſelf was, that he wiſhed he had fought the *Baſorians* at the beginning of their Revolt, and ſtruck their Heads off for their Perjury: But if he had attempted it, he might have loſt his own, for the *Caregites*, who were his mortal Enemies, were got to a great head, and reſolved either to kill him, or to drive him from *Baſorah*.

We leave him therefore riding upon an Aſs, and talking to himſelf, and return to *Hoſein*, who was come back much about this time from the Siege of *Meccah* to *Damaſcus*: He gave an account in what Poſture he had left Matters on that ſide of the Country, and how he had proffered his Allegiance to *Abdollah*, who had refuſed to accept it, at leaſt to come into *Syria*: he told *Merwan*, and the reſt of the Family of *Ommiyah*, that they would do well to look about them in time, their Affairs being at this time in a confuſed perplexed Condition; that they ought to ſettle the Government, before Faction, which is both deaf and blind, ſhould overwhelm them: *Merwan* was for ſubmitting to *Abdollah*, but *Obeidollah* told him, that it was a ſhame for a Perſon of his Diſtinction, who was the head of the noble Family of the *Coreiſh*, to think of any thing ſo mean. The People of *Da-*

Damaſcus had conſtituted *Dehàc*, the Son of *Kais*, their Protector, till the *Muſlemans* ſhould be agreed upon an *Imàm*: *Dehàc* favoured *Abdollah*, and *Haſſan* the Son of *Malec* was in that part of *Paleſtine* that lay near *Jordan*, and was of the Party of the Houſe of *Ommiyah*. The *Baſorians* were altogether in Tumult and Confuſion, and could not agree about a Governour; during the *interregnum*, they ſet up firſt one, and then another, till at laſt they wrote to *Abdollah*, to take the Government upon him. Moawiyah II. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

ABDOL-

ABDOLLAH,

The Son of ZOBEIR,

(The Ninth from MAHOMET; *) he was not of the Houſe of* Ommiyah.

Abdollah. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

THERE being two *Chaliphs* at the ſame time will of neceſſity occaſion the Repetition of a few Circumſtances, which will give no Offence to an ingenious Reader. Though *Abdollah* was proclaimed before in the Days of *Yezid*, yet this is the Place that our *Arabian* Authors aſſign him in their Hiſtories, becauſe he ſeemed now to be fully ſettled and eſtabliſhed, all the Territories of the *Muſlemans* being entirely under his Command, *Syria* only excepted; But whenever we ſpeak of the entire Subjection of the *Mahometan* Countries, we muſt not be underſtood of the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, the *Caregites* and *Motázeli*, for they, as we have obſerved already, would never be Subject to any; but upon the leaſt Proſpect of a favourable Opportunity, uſed their utmoſt Efforts to break from off their Necks the Yoke of all Government whatſoever.

As

Abdollah. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

[1] As ſoon as *Yezid* was dead, the People of *Meccah* ſtood up for *Abdollah*, the Son of *Zobeir*: *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem* (who was of the Houſe of *Ommiyah*) was then at *Medinah*, and was preparing himſelf to go to *Abdollah*, and acknowledge him; for all took it for granted that his Intereſt was ſo powerful, that it would be to no purpoſe to oppoſe him; when on a ſudden there was a Report ſpread, that *Abdollah* had ſent word to his Deputy in *Medinah*, to leave never a Man alive there of the Houſe of *Ommiyah*: Inſtead of which, if he had gone along with *Hoſein*, as he would have perſuaded him, or had he careſſed *Merwan* and the Houſe of *Ommiyah*, he had been immoveably fixed in the Government. *But there is no reverſing what God hath decreed.* When they Proclaimed him at *Meccah*, *Obeidollah* was at *Baſorah*, from whence he fled into *Syria*, as we have ſeen before: The *Baſorians*, *Irakians*, *Hejazians*, *Yemanians* and *Ægyptians*, all came in to *Abdollah*, beſides he had a ſtrong private Party even in *Syria* it ſelf, and in *Kinniſrin* and *Hems*: In ſhort, they were very near coming in univerſally, but he wanted ſome Qualifications neceſſary for ſuch a Juncture: He was brave and courageous enough, and exemplarily Religious, but he wanted both Capacity and Generoſity.

[1] *Abulpheda.*

The

The Fourth Chaliph *of the Houſe of* Ommiyah; (*Being the Tenth from* MAHOMET.)

MERWAN,

The Son of HAKEM.

Merwàn I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

UPON this Rumour of *Abdollah*'s thus ſeverely threatning the Houſe of *Ommiyah*, *Merwàn* made haſte into *Syria*, where his Friends came about him, and reſolved to ſtand upon their own Defence, Proclaimed him *Chaliph*; ſo that *Syria* was divided into two Factions: *Haſſan* and the *Yemanians* in *Syria* ſtood for *Merwàn*, and *Dehàc* the Son of *Kais* for *Abdollah:* This *Dehàc* was a Man of great Note; he had been at the firſt Siege of *Damaſcus*, and in the Fifty fourth Year *Moawiyah* made him his Deputy over *Cufah*; And becauſe the General's Father's Name was *Kais*, the Party that followed him were called the *Kaiſians:* There were a great many Parleys between them, which it would be too tedious to relate; at laſt they brought it to a deciſive Battel in the Plains or Meadows of *Damaſcus*; the Iſſue was, that the *Kai-*

Kaiſians were moſt ſhamefully beaten, and *Dehàc* himſelf killed, and there was made a great ſlaughter amongſt the Horſe. When the *Kaiſians* were routed, *Merwàn* ſounded a Retreat, and would not ſuffer his Men to purſue. There were killed with *Dehàc* no leſs than Fourſcore of the Nobles of *Syria*. When *Dehàc*'s Head was brought to *Merwàn*, he expreſſed ſome concern and ſaid, That I who am an old Man, whoſe Bones are waſted, and am next to nothing, ſhould bring Armies together to break one another in Pieces! Merwàn I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

He then went into *Damaſcus*, and took up his Lodgings at the Houſe where *Moawiyah* uſed to reſide; and there he married *Yezid*'s Widow, becauſe it was agreed that *Merwàn* ſhould not transfer the Government to his own Poſterity, but leave it to *Yezid*'s Son *Caled*, who was then a Minor, and of whom the People had ſome Expectation: Wherefore his Friends thought it moſt ſecure for him to marry *Caled*'s Mother, and take upon him the Guardianſhip of the Child, than run the riſque of ſtanding upon the ſole Foundation of his own Intereſt.

When the News of the Defeat of the *Kaiſians* and the Death of *Dehàc* came to *Emeſſa*, which was under the Command of *Nòoman* the Son of *Baſhir*, he fled away with his Wife and Family; and the *Emeſſians* purſued him, cut off his Head,

Merwàn I. An. Heg. 64. cœpit Aug. 29. A. C. 683.

Head, and brought it together with his Wife and Family to *Emeſſa*.

Merwàn after this marched towards *Ægypt*, and ſent before him *Amrou* the Son of *Saëd*, who going into *Ægypt* turned out *Abdollah*'s Lieutenant, and brought the *Ægyptians* to own *Merwàn* for their Sovereign: As he was upon his Return towards *Damaſcus*, News was brought him that *Abdollah* had ſent his Brother *Mus'ab* againſt him with an Army; wherefore he turned back and routed *Mus'ab* before he entered into *Damaſcus*.

This Year the People of *Choraſan* choſe *Salem* the Son of *Ziyàd*, who was their Governour before, for their Protector, till the *Muſlemans* ſhould be agreed in the Choice of an *Imàm*; he continued in that Poſt about two Months: The People of the Country never had any Governour that they loved ſo well; they reſpected him to that Degree, that in thoſe few Years that he governed them, there were more than twenty Thouſand Children named *Salem* purely out of Love to his Name.

This Year the Sect of *Ali* began to ſtir in *Cufah*, in order to rendezvous in *Nochailah* in the next Year following, that they might march into *Syria* to revenge the Death of *Hoſein*, and ſent circular Letters to their Friends round about the Country concerning it: The Occaſion was

was this; When the *Cufians* after *Hoſein* was killed came to reflect cooly upon that Matter, their Conſciences accuſed them of not having dealt with him ſo generouſly as they were obliged both in Honour and Duty, and they thought there could be no Attonement made for ſuch a Crime but the taking up Arms to revenge his Death: They therefore applied themſelves to five leading Men of the Sect, *Solyman* the Son of *Soràd* who was one of the *Companions*; and *Moſabbib* the Son of *Nahbah*, one of the choiceſt Friends of *Ali*: *Abdollah* the Son of *Saïd*; *Abdollah* the Son of *Wali*; and *Rephaah* the Son of *Shadad*. Theſe all met together in *Solyman*'s Houſe, beſides a great many others of the chief Men of the Sect, to whom *Moſabbib* made a Speech wherein he aggravated the Heinouſneſs of their Neglect "in having deſerted *Hoſein* "after ſo ſolemn an Invitation, and having re- "ceived ſo many Letters and Meſſages from "him; that they had neither aſſiſted him with "their Hands, nor ſpoke for him with their "Tongues, nor ſupported him with their Mo- "ney, nor looked out for any Aſſiſtance for "him. What Excuſe muſt they have when "they ſhould come to appear before God, or "how ſhould they be able to look his Prophet "in the Face, when by their Means his [4] Son

Merwàn I. An. Heg. 64. *cæpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

[4] *Grandſon*, as before.

"was

Merwàn I. An.Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A.C.* 683.

" was killed, and his beloved and his Offspring " and his Poſterity cut off! That there was no " way to attone for this but by revenging his " Death upon his Murderers, which was no " hard Matter, provided they choſe a proper " General, one that the People would be wil- " ling to fight under." This was ſeconded by *Rephaáh*, who added, that as to a General, his Opinion was, that they ſhould chuſe the chief of the Sect, a Perſon reverenced by all for his Years, Dignity, Piety and Experience, *Solyman* the Son of *Soràd*. *Solyman* having firſt made a Speech ſuitable to the Occaſion, accepted the Command; and when ſome other Perſons aroſe and made Speeches to urge on the Matter (for there were above an Hundred of the chief Men amongſt them) he told them, that there was enough ſaid already, and the next Step they ought to take ſhould be to put what each of them deſigned to contribute into the Hands of *Abdollah* the Son of *Wali*, to be diſtributed among the pooreſt of the Sect. The Contents of *Solyman*'s circular Letter were as followeth.

In the Name of the moſt Merciful God.

FROM Solyman *the Son of* Sorad *to* Saëd *the Son of* Hodaiphah *and whoſoever is with him of the* Muſlemans; *Peace be to you. The preſent World is a Manſion upon which every Thing that is*

is good turneth its Back, and to which every Thing that is bad draweth near, (or turneth its Face;) and treateth Perſons of uprightneſs ill. The choſen Servants of God have reſolved to leave it, and to ſell the little of the preſent World that remaineth not, for the great Reward that is with God and ſhall never fail. The Friends of God, your Brethren of the Sect of the Family of your Prophet, have conſidered with themſelves the Tryal they have undergone in the Buſineſs of the Son of the Daughter of your Prophet, who was called and anſwered, and called and was not anſwered; and would have returned but was detained; and aſked for Security but was hindered; and he let the People alone but they would not let him alone, but dealt injuriouſly by him and killed him, and then ſpoiled him and ſtripped him wickedly, deſpightfully and fooliſhly. Nor did they act as in the Sight of God, neither had they recourſe to God, [8] and they that have done Evil ſhall know what ſhall be the End of their Actions. *Now what your Brethren have ſeriouſly conſidered concerning the Events of what they were engaged in before is this. They ſee they have ſinned in deceiving the innocent, the good; and in the delivering him up, and the omitting the healing and helping him. A great Sin! from which there is no Way left for them to eſcape, nor any Repentance without killing*

Merwân I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

[8] *Alcoran* paſſim.

Merwàn I. An. Heg. 64. Epit Aug. 29. A. C. 683.

thoſe that killed him, or being killed themſelves and reſigning their Spirits upon this account. Now therefore your Brethren are beſtirring themſelves in Earneſt, and your Enemy; therefore do you get together all the Aſſiſtance you are able: And we have fixed a certain Time for our Brethren to meet us at a Place appointed. The Time is the New Moon of the Month of the latter Rebiyah, *in the ſixty fifth Year, and the Place where they ſhall meet us is* Nochàilah; *O ye who never ceaſe to be of our Sect and our Brethren! And we determined to invite you to this Buſineſs which God would have your Brethren undertake, as they ſay, and they ſhow to us that they repent, and that you are Perſons duly qualified for the Search of Excellency, and the laying hold of the Reward and Repentance towards your Lord from your Sin, though it be the cutting off your Necks, and the killing your Children, and the Conſumption of your Wealth, and the Deſtruction of your Tribes and Families.* [4] He [*God*] hath not hurt the couragious religious Men that were killed, but they are now alive with their Lord, ſuſtained as Martyrs, they met their Lord enduring (*Affliction*) patiently; they are made account of, and God hath given them the Reward of good Men. [5] — *If it pleaſe God, perſevere patiently in Tri-*

[4] It is a Saying of *Mahomet*'s. [5] The next Sentence is much to the ſame Purpoſe, but it is obſcurely repreſented in the Manuſcript, and I have not yet found it in the *Alcoran*.

bulation

bulation and Affliction and the Day of Battle (God have Mercy upon you!) for it is not fit that any of your Brethren ſhould perſevere in any Affliction in ſeeking his Repentance, but you are worthy and fit to ſeek the like Reward by the ſame Means; neither is it fit that any one ſhould ſeek the Favour of God by any Means, though it were Death itſelf, but you ſhould ſeek it by the ſame Means. [3] For the beſt Voyage Proviſion is the fear of God in this World, and every Thing beſides ſhall periſh and vaniſh away. *Wherefore let your Souls be aſſured of this, and your Deſire be fixed upon the Manſion of your Safety, and the engaging in the Holy War againſt the Enemy of God and your Enemy; and the Enemy of the Family of the Daughter of your Prophet, till you come before God with Repentance and Deſire. God preſerve both us and you to the happy Life, und remove both us and you from Hell, and grant it may be our Reward to dye by the Hands of that part of Mankind that is the moſt odious of all to him, and are his moſt vehement Enemies. He is the moſt Powerful over what he pleaſes, and diſpoſeth of his Friends according to his Will. Farewel to you.*

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[4] *Saëd* read the Letter to all the People, who readily gave their Aſſent, and diſpatched a very encouraging Anſwer to *Solyman* and his Friends.

[3] *Alcoran.* [4] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

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The truth of the Matter is, that the Sect of *Ali* had been contriving this Affair from the time of *Hoſein*'s death till the death of *Yezid* the Son of *Moawiyah*, (which was Three Years, Two Months, and Four Days) and had ſent privately to one another, and laid up Magazines, and ſtrengthened their Party.

Six Months after *Yezid*'s death, in the midſt of the Month *Ràmadàn*, *Almochtar* came to *Cufah*, and along with him came *Ibrahim*, the Son of *Mahomet* the Son of *Telha*, to take care of the Tribute of *Cufah* on the ſide of *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*: The Sect of (*Ali*) readily joined themſelves to this Captain *Almochtàr*, who made uſe of the Authority of [1] *Mohammed*, the Son of *Haniphiyah*, who was *Ali*'s Son, and the Hopes of the Party: He told them he was come to them as a Counſellor and a truſty Aſſiſtant from the Son of *Alhanifiyah*, which Circumſtance, added to their Confidence in his known Abilities, endeared him to them exceedingly. He made it his Buſineſs to diſparage *Solyman*, the Son of *Sórad*, as a Perſon by no means qualified for the Truſt he had undertaken, but one that would moſt certainly deſtroy both them and himſelf, having no manner of Experience in warlike Affairs. *Abdollah*, the Son of *Yezid*, was then Governour

[1] See the Catalogue of *Ali*'s Children at the end of his Life.

of

of *Cufah*, and having received Information that the Sect had a Deſign to ſeize the City, he called a Congregation " and told them that theſe " People pretended indeed to ſeek Revenge for " *Hoſein*'s death, but he could not eaſily be in- " duced to believe that that was the bottom of " their Intention; That for his own part they " had no Reaſon to fight againſt him who was " no manner of way concerned in the Matter, " but had been a Sufferer upon that Account: " That if they would in good earneſt follow " thoſe up cloſe who were guilty of the Death " of *Hoſein*, he ſhould be willing to aſſiſt them." Then turning to the People he ſaid: " In ſhort " it was the Son of *Ziyàd* that killed *Hoſein*, " and that killed the moſt valuable Men amongſt " you; and the beſt thing you can do is to make " Preparation of War againſt him, who is the " greateſt Enemy you have in the whole Crea- " tion, rather than exerciſe your Force upon " one another, and ſhed each others Blood." *Ibrahim* the Collector roſe up and bad the People not be deceived with his ſmooth Speeches, and declared, that if any of them roſe up in Arms they ſhould be put to death both Father and Son without diſtinction. As he was proceeding, *Moſabbib* cut him off ſhort, and aſked him, whether he pretended to threaten or terrifie them? That it was more than lay in his

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power; we have, ſays he, already killed your Father and Grandfather, and we hope, before you go out of this Country, you ſhall be the third. *Ibrahim* threatened him with Death, when *Abdollah* the Son of *Wali* ſtood up, and aſked *Ibrahim* what Buſineſs he had to intermeddle between them and their Governour, telling him that he had no manner of Authority over them, but he might get him about his Buſineſs, and look after his Tax. The Sect were wonderfully pleaſed with *Abdollah* the Son of *Yezid*'s Speech, and the People very much offended at *Ibrahim*'s Behaviour; there were high Words on both ſides till *Abdollah* the Governour came down; he, being informed that *Ibrahim* had threatened to write to *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and acquaint him with the Contents of his ſmooth Speech to the *Cufians*, made haſte to pay him a Viſit, and ſwore that he meant nothing by it but only to appeaſe the People, and keep the Peace to prevent their doing any further miſchief; with which Excuſe *Ibrahim* was very well ſatisfied. And now *Solyman* and his Party pulled off the Maſk, and appeared barefaced openly in Arms.

At this time the Separiſts, who had before joined *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and aſſiſted him whilſt he was beſieged in *Meccah*, deſerted him. The Caſe was thus: *Obeidollah*, when Go-

Governour at *Baſorah*, had been always their implacable Enemy, and exerted his utmoſt to extirpate the whole Generation of them Root and Branch from off the Face of the Earth; diſtreſſed by his unmerciful Perſecution they took the Opportunity, when *Abdollah*, the Son of *Zobeir*, firſt made his Appearance at *Mecca*, of applying themſelves to him; he, as Matters then ſtood with him, was no leſs glad of their Aſſiſtance than they were of his Protection, and embraced them without any Scrutiny about Principles, or aſking any Queſtions for Conſcience ſake: They afterwards began to ſay to one another, that they had committed an Error in engaging themſelves in a Man's Intereſt whoſe Principles were dubious; and reſolved, before they advanced one ſtep further, to bring him to the Teſt. They had not forgotten how both he and his Father *Zobeir* had perſecuted them upon the Account of *Othman*'s Death, and they were reſolved to make uſe of it as a Proof of his being in their Intereſt, or the contrary: They came to him accordingly in a body, and told him, That hitherto they had aſſiſted him without any previous Examination of his Principles; now, for ſatisfaction, they deſired to know what he thought of *Othman?* He underſtood them very well, but ſeeing but few of his Friends about him, he told them, that they were come at an

Merwân I. An. Heg. 64 *cœpit Aug.* 29 *A. C.* 683.

Merwân I. An.Heg.64. *cœpit Aug.*29. *A. C.* 683.

unſeaſonable time, when he had rather be at reſt; if they would defer it a little, and return in the Evening, they ſhould have a ſatisfactory Anſwer. In the mean time he gathers together a ſufficient Number of Guards, and places them in double Ranks round about his Houſe: At laſt they came, and perceiving how matters ſtood, and what Preparation *Abdollah* had made for their Reception, did not think fit to come to Blows; but one of them, a Man of a voluble Tongue, eminent for his Eloquence, made a Speech, wherein he briefly recapitulated the moſt conſiderable Diſpenſations of Providence towards them, and the ſeveral Succeſſions of their *Chaliphs* ſince *Mahomet*, concluding with hard Reflections upon *Othman*'s Adminiſtration, his Partiality in favour of his Relations, and in a word juſtified his being murdered: *Abdollah* told him, That as to what he had ſaid concerning the Prophet (which was very great) he was not only what he had ſaid, but above it; and what he had ſaid of *Abubeker* and *Omar* was juſt enough; but as for *Othman*, he had more reaſon to know him than any Man alive; that he was ſure he was murdered wrongfully, and that he never wrote that Letter whereof he had been accuſed; and that for his own part, he ſhould be a Friend of *Othman*'s both in this World and that to come, and a Friend of his Friends, and an Enemy of his

his Enemies. To this they anſwered, *God is clear of thee, thou Enemy of God!* which he ecchoed back again, *God is clear of you, ye Enemies of God!* Upon this they parted; but as for *Abdollah*, he could the more eaſily part with them: Some of them went to *Yemàmah*, the reſt to *Baſorah*; thoſe of them that went to *Baſorah* began to ſay among themſelves, [5] "*Would to* "*God ſome of our People would go out in the way* "*of God, for there hath been negligence on our* "*ſide ſince our Companions went out, and our* "*Teachers ſtood up in the Earth and were the* "*Lights of Mankind, and exhorted them to Re-* "*ligion, and ſober and couragious Men went out* "*and met the Lord, and became Martyrs main-* "*tained with God alive.*" Thus they encouraged one another mutually till they had gathered together a Body of about Three Hundred, juſt about the time that the *Baſorians* made an Inſurrection againſt *Obeidollah*, and taking the Advantage of the Hurry of the People they broke open all the Jails; but when *Obeidollah* was gone into *Syria*, and all the Diſturbance was over, they were ſoon routed and driven away from *Baſorah*.

Merwân I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A.C.* 683.

So many things being tranſacted in ſeveral Parts of the Empire much about the ſame time, it was neceſſary to diſpatch theſe firſt, to clear

[5] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

the

Morwân I. An. Heg. 64. cœpit Aug. 29. A.C. 683.

the Way for [6] *Moktar*, that great and terrible ſcourge of the Enemies of *Ali*'s Family; and becauſe he makes ſo conſiderable a figure in this part of our Hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to be a little more particular in the Account of his Affairs. The Sect of *Ali* had entertained no very favourable Opinion of him ever ſince the time of *Haſan* in whoſe Service he was reckoned to be too remiſs; but he recovered his eſteem with them when *Hoſein* ſent *Muſlim* to *Cufah* to take the Suffrages of the *Cufians*, for he not only entertained him in his Houſe, but made uſe of all his Intereſt privately to ſerve him; ſtill making his Appearance in publick againſt *Obeidollah*'s Men, to prevent Suſpicion. Going one Morning to wait upon *Obeidollah*, *Obeidollah* aſked him whether he was come with his Men to ſerve *Muſlim*? *Moktar* ſaid that he was not, but had been under the Banner of *Amrou* the Son of *Horith*, and ſtaid with him all Night, which *Amrou* confirmed; but this not ſatisfying *Obeidollah*, who had good Intelligence of his ſecret Practices, he ſtruck him over the Face with his Stick, and daſhed one of his Eyes out to pieces, and ſent him immediately to Priſon, where he was detained till after *Hoſein*'s Death; at which time finding means to make proper Application to *Yezid* the *Chaliph*, he was ſet at liberty by his

[6] *Theophanes* calls him Μοχτὰς.

expreſs

expreſs command: *Obeidollah* knew that it was his Intereſt not to let him go, but was forced to obey the *Chaliph*, and told *Almochtar* that he allowed him Three Days, after which if he took him he was under no Obligation. Merwân I. An. Heg. 64. *capit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

Moktar made the beſt of his way to that part of *Arabia* called *Hejaz* (which is generally taken by our Geographers to be *Arabia Petræa*) and meeting with a Friend, who aſked him what his Eye ailed, he anſwered, The Son of a Whore made it ſo; but God kill me if I do not cut him all to pieces. His Friend wondered what he meant, there being no Probability of it's ever being in his power, and *Mochtar* enquired of him concerning *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*. He anſwered him, That he had made *Meccah* the Place of his Refuge; to which *Mochtar* anſwered, I do not believe that he can make any thing of it, but when you ſee it come to paſs, when you ſee *Mochtar* up at the Head of his Men to revenge the Death of *Hoſein*, then, by thy Lord, I will kill, upon the account of his Murder, as many as were killed upon the account of the Blood of *Yahia* the Son of *Zacharias*, upon whom be Peace.

For the clearing of which Paſſage it muſt be underſtood, that the *Mahometans* entertain a profound Veneration for the Memory of St. *John Baptiſt*, upon the account of the honourable mention

Merwân I. An. Heg. 64. cæpit Aug. 29. A. C. 683.

mention made of him in the third Chapter of the *Alcoran*, in theſe words, [8] *Then prayed Zachariah to his Lord, and ſaid, My Lord, give me from thee a good Progeny, for thou art the hearer of Prayers: And the Angels called to him as he ſtood praying in the Oratory, God ſends thee the good News of* John, *who ſhall confirm the truth of the Word from God, and ſhall be a great Perſon, Chaſt, a Prophet, and one of the Juſt*, or rather, *and one of the juſt Prophets.*

[7] Which *Hoſein Waês* Paraphraſes in theſe Words. "*John the Baptiſt*, your Son, ſhall "publiſh and give Authority to the Faith in the "*Meſſias Jeſus* the Son of *Mary*, who is the "Word of God, or the Word proceeding from "God; for he ſhall be the firſt who ſhall be- "lieve in him. He ſhall become Chief and "High-Prieſt by his Knowledge, by the Auſte- "rity of his Life, and by the Sweetneſs of his "Behaviour, which are Three Qualities requi- "ſite to make a Perſon an *Imàm* or High-Prieſt "of the Law of God. He ſhall abſtain from "having any thing to do with Women, and "from all the Pleaſures of Senſe, and in ſhort, "he ſhall be a Prophet deſcended from good "Men ſuch as his Father *Zachariah* and his "Grandfather *Saleh* had been before him, teach- "ing Men the Ways of Juſtice and Salvation."

[8] *Alcoran.* Chap. 3. Verſe 33. [7] *D'Herbelot*, in *Jahia.*

They

They have a Tradition of St. *John Baptiſt* having been beheaded by the Command of a King of *Judæa*, the Blood which flowed from his Body could not be ſtanched till it was avenged by a very great Deſolation which God ſent upon the People of the *Jews*; and this is what was meant by *Almochtar*. Merwân I. An. Heg. 64. *exeunte Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

When they parted, *Almochtar* went to *Meccah* juſt at that time when *Abdollah* began to ſet up himſelf for the *Chaliphate*, and told him that all things about *Cufah* were in the utmoſt confuſion; then, whiſpering him, he ſaid that he was come to proffer him his Allegiance, if he would make him eaſy. I do not find what Anſwer he received, nor whether or no he received any at all: [a] From that time he was ſeen no more at *Meccah* till about a Twelve-month after, when, as *Abbàs* the Son of *Sahel* and *Abdollah* happened to be talking concerning him he appeared on one ſide of the Temple: *Abbas* followed him to find out which way he ſtood inclined, and aſked him if he had been all that while in *Thayef*, (for he had ſeen him there himſelf) he told him in *Thayef* and in other Places, but ſeemed to make a Secret of his Buſineſs; *Abbas* told him that he was very private, according to the Cuſtom of the *Cufians*; that all the noble Families of the *Arabians* had ſent ſome

[a] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

great

Merwàn I. An. Heg. 64. capit Aug. 29. A.C. 683.

great Man or other to offer their Allegiance to *Abdollah*, and that it would be very strange if he should be singular and refuse it: *Almochtar* answered, that he came about it the Year before, but receiving no satisfactory Answer, it looked as if *Abdollah* had no Occasion for his Service; and since he found himself slighted he thought *Abdollah* had more Occasion for him than he had for *Abdollah*: At last *Abbas* prevailed upon him so far that he said he would do it after he had said the last Evening Prayer: They appointed to meet at the Stone, and *Abbas* in the mean time rejoiced the Heart of *Abdollah* with the News. When they were admitted into *Abdollah*'s House, *Almochtar* told him, that he expected if he gave him his Allegiance to have Access to him upon all Occasions before any other Person, and that he should make use of him in his most weighty Affairs; *Abdollah* would have had him been content with being governed, *according to the Book of God and the Tradition*; *Almochtar* answered, That that was no more privilege than what the farthest Man alive enjoyed, and that he would never come in upon any other Terms than what he had proposed; *Abdollah*'s Affairs being as yet in an unsettled Condition it was thought most advisable to indulge him in his Humour; so he continued with *Abdollah* during the Siege of *Meccah* and fought

fought bravely in the Defence of it; till, as we have related before, upon the News of *Yezid*'s Death the Siege was raiſed, and the Army returned into *Syria*. Merwán I. An. Heg. 64. *expit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

Almochtar continued with *Abdollah* five Months and ſome Days after the Death of *Yezid*, but perceiving that *Abdollah* was ſtill ſhy of him, and did not employ him in any conſiderable Poſt, nor make any great uſe of him in his Counſels, he always was very diligent in enquiring after the Condition of the *Cufians*, and *Ali*'s Friends on that ſide of the Country; at laſt one informed him, that there was only a Party ſupported by ſome Provincialiſts that were in the Intereſt of *Abdollah*; and as for the Friends of *Ali*'s Family, they wanted nothing but a Man of their own Opinion, to head them in order to conſume the whole Earth. *Almochtar* ſwore that he was their Man, and that by their Aſſiſtance he would beat down [1] *all haughty Tyrants*. The other told him, that for his further Satisfaction, that he might not be deceived, they had gone ſo far already as to ſet one over them, but a Perſon of ſmall Experience; *Almochtar* ſaid, he did not intend to call them to *Sedition*, but to the right way, *and to the Church*, and forthwith ſet forth for *Cufah*. All the way he went, he made it his buſineſs to

[1] It is an Expreſſion uſed in the *Alcoran*.

pay

Merwán I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

pay his Reſpects to the Congregations of the ſeveral Moſques, and ſay his Prayers among them, and harangue them, aſſuring them of Succeſs and Victory, and a ſpeedy Deliverance from all their Grievances: When he came to *Cufah* he called the Sect together, and told them that he was come "from the [8] Mine of Excel-"lency, the *Imàm* that directs the right way; "who commanded Medicines to be applied, and "the Veil to be removed, and the Perfection of "gracious Works, and the killing of their Ene-"mies. He then repreſented to them the Incapa-"city of *Solyman* for ſuch an Undertaking, as being "altogether unexperienced in War, and one that "would only deſtroy both them and himſelf:" This he inculcated ſo frequently, that he perſuaded a great many of the Sect into his Intereſt, who began every Day to favour him more and more in their common Diſcourſe, and magnify his Merit, and promiſe themſelves great things from him. But notwithſtanding all this, *Solyman*'s Intereſt was ſtill ſuperior to any amongſt the Sect, as being the moſt ancient and of the greateſt Authority: He was reſolved to go forwards according to his Appointment, with what Forces he had, expecting to be joined by a great Army of the Sect at *Nochàilah*. *Almochtar*

[8] That was *Mohammed Ebn Haniphiyah*, *Ali*'s Son, then Reſident at *Meccah*.

ſtaid

ſtaid behind, waiting for an account of *Solyman*'s Succeſs, not doubting in the leaſt, but that if he ſhould miſcarry the ſole Command of the Sect would fall inevitably into his Hands. He was ſuſpected of having a ſecret Deſign of ſeizing the Province, upon which account ſome of *Solyman*'s Party ſurrounded his Houſe, and having ſurprized him, would have perſuaded the Governour to have bound him, and made him walk Barefoot to Priſon: The Governour anſwered, that he would never do ſo to a Man that had not declared himſelf an Enemy, but was only taken up upon Suſpicion. Then they would have had him put in Irons, but the Governour anſwered, that the Priſon was reſtraint enough; whither he was conveyed upon a Mule, and where for a while we muſt leave him. Merwân I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 29. *A. C.* 683.

We return now to *Solyman* and his *Penitents*, for ſo they were called that confederated under him to revenge the Death of *Hoſein*, becauſe of their Sorrow for their former Neglect of him in his Extremity. They ſet out according to their Agreement to meet at their general Rendezvous at *Nochâilah*, a Place not very far diſtant from *Cufah* in the New Moon of the latter *Rebiyah*. When he came there and had taken a View of the Camp, he was very much concerned at the ſmallneſs of the Number, and diſpatched two Horſemen Poſt to *Cufah*, with Orders to cry round

Merwân I. An. Heg. 65. *cœpit Aug.* 17. *A. C.* 684.

about the Streets and in the great Moſque, *Vengeance for Hoſein*; this alarmed the People, and amongſt the reſt there was an *Arabian* married to the greateſt Beauty of her Time whom he doated upon to an Exceſs: As ſoon as he heard that Proclamation he neither anſwered them one Word, nor went out to them, but put on his Cloaths in great Haſte, and called for his Arms and his Horſe. His Wife aſked him if he was poſſeſſed, he anſwered, *By God no! but I have heard God's Herald calling for Revenge for the Blood of that Man* [Hoſein] *and I will anſwer him, and I will die for him, or God ſhall diſpoſe of me as he pleaſes.* To whom, ſaid ſhe, do you leave this Child of yours? *To God*, ſaith he, *who hath no Partner: O God! I commend to thee my Family and my Child! O God preſerve me in them.* This ſaid, he followed them, and left her to bewail him.

[3] Thoſe that were gathered together in the Street went to the great Moſque, where they found a great many People after the laſt Evening Prayer, and repeating the ſame Cry, another, a Perſon of Diſtinction, armed himſelf and called for his Horſe: his Daughter aſking him the Reaſon of it, he anſwered, *Child, thy Father flies from his Sin to his God!* Then calling his neareſt Relations together he took his Leave,

[3] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

and

and arrived at *Solyman*'s Camp the next Morning. They next looked over the Rolls to ſee how many had given their Hands at firſt, and found them ſixteen Thouſand, whereof there were not above four Thouſand preſent: One ſaid that *Almochtar* had drawn off two Thouſand; ſo that according to that Account there ſtill remained ten Thouſand guilty of Perjury. At laſt *Moſáḃbib* told *Solyman*, that they who did not come out of an hearty Intent would do him no Service. *Solyman* and ſeveral others of the chief Men made Speeches to that ſmall Handful they had, telling them, That it was not this World they fought for, that they had neither Silver nor Gold, but were going to expoſe themſelves to the Edges of Swords and the Points of Spears. To which the People anſwered all round, It is not this World that we ſeek, neither did we come out for the Sake of it. Then they deliberated about the moſt proper Method of carrying on their Deſign; one propoſed the marching directly into *Syria* to be revenged on *Obeidollah*; another would have them go and deſtroy all that had a hand in his Death at *Cufah*, where there were a great many of the Chiefs of the Tribes and ſeveral other leading Men. *Solyman* did by no means approve of this laſt Advice, but ſaid, That they ought *to take Vengeance upon that individual Perſon that had*

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Merwàn I. An. Heg. 65. *cœpit Aug.* 17. *A. C.* 684.

beſet him with armed Men, and ſaid to him, you ſhall have no Protection from me, unleſs you ſurrender your ſelf entirely to my Diſpoſal; [7] *that wicked Wretch, the Son of that wicked Wretch is your Object!* Beſides he did not think it proper by any means to begin a Maſſacre in their own Province, which would alienate their Friends and exaſperate the People to ſee their Fathers and Brethren and near Relations murdered before their Faces; wherefore he adviſed them to leave that Matter to be conſidered afterwards, if it ſhould pleaſe God to grant them a ſafe Return out of *Syria*.

In the mean time *Ibrahim*, (who, as we have mentioned before, was ſent from *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* to gather the Tribute) and *Abdollah* the Son of *Yezid*, the Governour of *Cufah*, being informed of *Solyman*'s Expedition, entertained ſome thoughts of joyning Forces with him: They conceived it was both plauſible and practicable enough to ſecure themſelves in that part of the Country, under the pretence of revenging the Death of *Hoſein*; beſides that *Obeidollah*'s Cruelty had raiſed the greateſt Averſion againſt him imaginable, in all the Provinces that had been under his juriſdiction. They went both to *Solyman*, and perſuaded him to ſtay till they could raiſe Forces to aſſiſt him, or elſe to

[7] That is, *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyàd*.

abide

abide where he was, till *Obeidollah* ſhould come within their Bounds, which they had very good Reaſon to think would not be long, after the Alarm was taken in *Syria*. This not prevailing, *Ibrahim* would have perſuaded him at leaſt to ſtay till he could furniſh him with ſome Money (no leſs than the Tribute of the whole Province.) The Anſwer to this laſt Propoſal was, that *their going out was not for this World.* Thus the Conference broke off, and *Solyman* continued his March into *Syria*, and *Ibrahim* and the Son of *Yezid* returned back to *Cufah*. Merwàn I. An. Heg. 65. *cœpit Aug.* 17. *A. C.* 684.

Obeidollah was not idle all this while, but was upon his March towards them. *Solyman*'s Men perceiving that their Friends of *Madayen* and *Baſorah* did not join them according to Promiſe began to murmur: And notwithſtanding his Endeavours to pacify them, they deſerted; ſo that when he Muſtered them at *Ekſàs*, upon the Banks of the *Euphrates*, there were a Thouſand of them wanting: *Solyman* ſaid to the reſt, It is a good Riddance; for if they had ſtaid they would have been only a Burthen to you; *The Lord did not approve of their going out, and therefore he hath withdrawn them, and held them back for the better, wherefore praiſe ye your Lord.*

Marching all Night they came the next Morning to *Hoſein*'s burying Place, where they ſtaid a Night and a Day, which they ſpent in praying

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for him, and begging his Pardon. When they first came to his Tomb, they all cried out with one Voice, and wept, and wished that they had been Partners with him in his Death: There never was seen a greater Day of Weeping than that. *Solyman* said, *O God! be merciful to* Hosein *the Martyr, the Son of the Martyr; The Guide, the Son of the Guide; the Righteous, the Son of the Righteous! O God! we call thee to Witness, that we are in their Profession of Religion, and in their way, and that we are Enemies of those that killed them, and Friends of those that loved them.* Another Account (not contradictory to the former) says, that when they drew near to *Hosein*'s Tomb they cried out unanimously, *O Lord! we have deceived the Son of the Daughter of our Prophet; forgive us what is past, and repent towards us, for thou art the Repenter, the Merciful! Have Mercy upon* Hosein *and his Followers, the righteous Martyrs! And we call thee to Witness, O Lord! that we are the very same sort of Men with those that were killed for his sake, and if thou dost not forgive him to us we must be sufferers.* They did not move till the Morning after, but continued bewailing him and his Friends at his Sepulchre, the sight of which renewed their Sorrow. Nay when *Solyman* commanded them to march, there was never a Man of them would stir till he had first stood over *Hosein*'s Tomb,

and

and begged his Pardon: One that was preſent there ſwears that he never ſaw ſuch crowding and preſſing about the *Black* Stone. From thence they marched to *Heſáſah*, from *Heſáſah* to *Alámbar*, from *Alámbar* to *Sodûd*, and from *Sodûd* to *Kayyàrah*. Merwàn I. An. Heg. 65. *cœpit Aug.* 17. *A. C.* 684.

Whilſt they were at *Kayyàrah*, *Abdollah* the Son of *Yézid*, the Governour of *Cufah*, ſent them a Friendly Letter, admoniſhing them of the deſperateneſs of their Undertaking, in encountring ſuch a Multitude as they muſt expect to meet, with ſuch an handful; aſſuring them of his being in the ſame Intereſt with them, and deſiring them to return: He concluded thus, "Do not "ſet at nought my Advice, nor contradict my [1] "Command; come as ſoon as my Letter is "read to you: God turn your Faces towards "his Obedience, and your Backs to the rebelling againſt him." When the Letter was read, and the People had aſked *Solyman*'s Advice, he told them that he ſaw no reaſon for going back, that they were never like to be nearer the two [2] *Hoſeins* than now, and that the meaning of their perſuading them to return was, that they might aſſiſt *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, which he reckoned to be Erroneous; but if they died

[1] *Arab. Amri.* It doth not always ſignify ſtrictly a Command, becauſe that ſuppoſes Superiority, but any thing that one Friend deſireth of another. [2] *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, as we have obſerved before.

Merwàn I. An. Heg. 64. *cœpit Aug.* 17. *A. C.* 684.

now, they ſhould die in a ſtate of Repentance from their Sins. At laſt he came to *Hait*, from whence he wrote an Anſwer to the Governour of *Cufah*, wherein he gave him Thanks for his kind Letter, but told him that his Men could not accept of his Invitation; that they were true Penitents, and reſolved to go forwards and leave the Succeſs to God. The Governour as ſoon as he received the Letter ſaid, that they were reſolved to die, and that would be the next News of them. From *Hait* they went to *Karkiſia*, from thence to *Ainwérdah*. They deſigned to depoſe both the *Caliphs*, *viz.* [2] *Abdolmelik* the Son of *Merwan*, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and reſtore the Government to the Family of the Prophet. Not to enter into a long detail of the tedious Particulars of their March and Engagement, in ſhort *Obeidollah* met them with twenty Thouſand Men, and cut them all to Pieces.

Not long after, in the Month *Ramadàn*, the *Chaliph Merwàn* died. We muſt here remem-

[2] There muſt be a Miſtake here: For this Action was before *Merwan's* Death. See *Elmakin*. *Solyman* and his Penitents met at *Nochailah* on the new Moon of the latter *Rebiyah*. *Merwàn* died in the Month of *Ramadan*; ſo that unleſs we can ſuppoſe them to have been above five Months in their March, (which would not take them ſo many Weeks) this Action muſt have been over before the Death of *Merwàn*, therefore inſtead of *Abdolmelick*, I read *Merwàn*.

ber,

ber, that after *Moawiyah*'s Deceaſe *Merwán* was choſen *Chaliph* upon this Condition, that *Caled* the Son of *Yezid* ſhould ſucceed him, excluding his own Children, and that *Caled* had refuſed to take the Government upon himſelf becauſe he was ſo very young; and that to ſecure the Succeſſion to *Caled* he married *Yezid*'s Widow, who was *Caled*'s Mother. Merwàn I. An. Heg. 65. *cœpit Aug.* 17. *A. C.* 684.

However afterwards, *Merwàn* having altered his Mind, was deſirous to have the Succeſſion paſs to his own Children excluſive of *Caled*, and accordingly cauſed his eldeſt Son *Abdòlmélik* to be proclaimed his lawful and proper Succeſſor.

Caled, who always hated him, came to him one Day, when there were a great many of the Nobility about him in the Garden, and reviled him after the moſt reproachful manner. This moved the old Man's Choler ſo that he called him Baſtard; *Caled* went and told his Mother all that had paſſed; the Lady touched to the Quick with this Affront was reſolved to be revenged; but ſaid to *Caled*, Child, you muſt have a care of ſuch Behaviour, for he will never bear it; let me alone, and I will take Care of him for you; *Merwàn* coming in ſoon after aſked her if *Caled* had ſaid any thing concerning him; ſhe told him no, he had more Reſpect for him.

Merwàn did not long ſurvive it, ſome ſay ſhe poiſoned him, others that ſhe laid a Pillow upon his

Merwân I. An. Heg. 65. *capit Aug.* 17. *A. C.* 684.

his Face when he was aſleep and ſat upon it till he was dead, and then told the People that he died on a ſudden.

Some ſay his Age was Sixty three, others with more Probability Seventy one. He reigned Two Hundred and Ninety eight Days.

He was called *Ebn Tarîd*, *The Son of the Expelled*; becauſe *Mahomet* had baniſhed his Father *Hakem* for divulging a Secret. He continued in his Exile during the Reigns of *Abubeker* and *Omar*, and the recalling him was objected to *Othman* as one of the greateſt Crimes; it being reverſing the Sentence of the Prophet; though *Othman*, mild and good-natured as he was, thought that ſince the Cauſe of his Baniſhment, and all the bad Effects of it that could poſſibly happen, were at an end, the Puniſhment ought to ceaſe alſo.

The

The Fifth Chaliph *of the Houſe of* Ommiyah, (*being the Eleventh from* MAHOMET.)

ABDOLMELICK,

The Son of MERWAN.

ON the third Day of the Month *Ramadan* in the ſixty fifth Year of the *Hegirah*, *Abdolmélick* the Son of *Merwàn* was inaugurated *Chaliph*, and ſucceeded his Father in the Government of *Syria* and *Ægypt*: It is reported, that when the News was firſt brought to him he was ſitting with the *Alcoran* in his Lap: whereupon he folded it up and laid it aſide, and ſaid, *I muſt take my Leave of thee now.*

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 65. *cœpit Aug.* 17. *A. C.* 684.

Abdollah ſtill holding it out againſt him at *Meccah*, he was not willing the People ſhould go thither on Pilgrimage, and for that Reaſon ſent and enlarged the Temple of *Jeruſalem* ſo as to take the [5] Stone into the Body of the Church, and the People began to make their Pilgrimages thither.

[4] *Abu'lpheda.* [5] See Vol. I. at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*. MS. *Laud.* Numb. 161. A.

All

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 66. *cæpit Aug.* 7. *A. C.* 685.

All this while *Almochtàr* was making the beſt Uſe of his Time in order to compaſs his Deſigns: During his Impriſonment he had found Means to keep up his Correſpondence with the *Sect*; Letters were conveyed to him in the lining of a Cap: He was ſoon informed of *Solyman*'s Fate, and thought it a proper Time to exert himſelf. *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir* being ſtill in Arms at *Meccah* againſt *Abdolmélick* the new *Chaliph*, *Ibrahim* the Son of *Aſhtar* was courted by the *Sect*, who anſwered, That he would join with them if they would be under his Command; but they told them that that was impracticable becauſe they were already pre-engaged to *Almochtar*, who, at a Meeting where *Ibrahim* was preſent, producing a Letter from *Almohdi* the Son of *Mahomet*, the Son of *Ali*, who was the Head of the Sect in a lineal Succeſſion, *Ibrahim* gave him his Hand without any more to do, and *Almochtar* took upon him the ſole Command of the Forces. [a] Not only ſo, but a great many of them inaugurated him *Chaliph* upon theſe Terms, That he ſhould govern according to the Contents of the Book of God and the Tradition of his Apoſtle, and deſtroy the Murderers of *Hoſein* and the Family. The firſt he attempted to ſeize was *Shamer*, whom he overcame and killed. The next was

[a] *Abu'lpheda.*

Caula,

Caula, who carried *Hoſein*'s Head to *Obeidollah*, him he beſieged in his Houſe, and killed him and burnt him. Afterwards he killed *Amer* who commanded the Army that killed *Hoſein*, and gave Orders that the Horſe ſhould trample over his Back and Breaſt; he killed his Son too, and ſent both their Heads to *Mohammed ben Hanifiyah*. The *Sect* were afraid leſt he ſhould have pardoned *Ali* the Son of *Hathem*, and begged of him to let them kill him; he told them they might diſpoſe of him as they thought fit. They took him and bound him, ſaying, You ſtripped the Son of *Ali* before he was dead, and we will ſtrip you alive; and you made a Mark of him, and we will make one of you; then they let fly a Shower of Arrows at him, which ſtuck ſo thick over all Parts of his Body that he looked like a Porcupine. In ſhort, *Almochtar* found means to ſurprize them whenſoever he could get any Information where they were, and deſtroyed them with variety of Deaths.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 66. *cœpit Aug.* 7. *A. C.* 685.

[2] *Abdolmélick* had about this Time ſent an Army againſt *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, who was at *Medinah*; *Almochtar*, who had two ſuch powerful Enemies to deal withal, was reſolved to try if he could get rid of one of them firſt; he endeavoured to overreach *Abdollah* by ſend-

[2] MS. *Laud.* Numb. 161. A.

ing

Abdolmélick An. Hej. 66. cœpit Aug. 7. A.C. 685.

ing an Army pretendedly to his Aſſiſtance upon the following Occaſion.

Abdolmélick having ſent an Army out of *Syria* towards *Iràk*, *Almochtàr* was afraid leſt they ſhould not only fall upon him on that Side, but that he ſhould at the ſame time be diſtreſſed by *Abdollah*'s Brother *Muſab*, from *Baſorah* on the other. Wherefore he wrote a deceitful Letter to *Abdollah*, wherein he told him, that being informed that *Abdolmélick* the Son of *Merwàn* had ſent an Army againſt him, he would willingly come to his Aſſiſtance with a competent Force. *Abdollah* anſwered him, That if he was once aſſured of the Sincerity of his Allegiance he might come; and in order to give him Satisfaction in that Article he deſired him to take the Votes of his Men for him, and when he had received them he ſhould believe him, and not ſend any more Forces into his Country; and that in the mean time he ſhould ſend his intended Aſſiſtance with all poſſible Speed againſt *Abdolmélick*'s Army that lay at *Dilkóra*; upon this *Almochtar* called *Serjabil* the Son of *Wars* to him, and diſpatched him with about 3000 Men, moſt of them Slaves, for there were not above ſeven Hundred *Arabs* amongſt them, and bad him march directly to *Medinah* and write to him from thence for further Orders. *Almochtar*'s Deſign was, as ſoon as they came to *Medinah*, to ſend an *Emir*

to

to command them, whilſt *Serjabil* ſhould go and beſiege *Abdollah* in *Meccah*. But *Abdollah*, who had no great Reaſon to put Confidence in *Almochtar*, did not intend to ſuffer himſelf to be ſurprized, eſpecially ſince *Almochtar* had not given him the Security he expected; wherefore he ſent *Abbas*, the Son of *Sahel*, from *Meccah* to *Medinah* with two Thouſand Men, ordering him, if he found the Army in his Intereſt to receive them; if otherwiſe, to uſe the beſt of his Endeavour to deſtroy them. When *Abbàs* met *Serjabil* he found his Men all in Order of Battle, the Horſe all on the Right, and *Serjabil* himſelf marching before the Foot; *Abbàs* his Men were in no Order at all. After they had ſaluted one another, *Abbàs* took *Serjabil* aſide, and aſked him if he did not own himſelf to be *Abdollah*'s Subject? To which Queſtion when *Serjabil* had anſwered in the Affirmative, *Abbàs* bad him march along with him to *Dilkóra*; *Serjabil* told him, that he had received no ſuch Orders from his Maſter, but only to march directly to *Medinah*: *Abbàs* told him, that his Maſter took it for granted that he was come out for no other Purpoſe but to go to *Dilkóra*; the other ſtill inſiſted that his Orders were for *Medinah*: *Abbàs* perceiving how Matters ſtood with him, concealed his Suſpicion of him, and told him he was in the right to obey his Orders, he might

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 66. *cœpit Aug.* 7. *A. C.* 685.

do

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 66. *cœpit Aug.* 7. *A.C.* 685.

do as he thought fit, but for his own Part he muſt go to *Dilkóra*. *Serjabil* and his Men were almoſt famiſhed for want of Proviſion in their long March; *Abbàs* made *Serjabil* a Preſent of a fat Sheep which he had by him ready killed, and ſent a Sheep to every ten of his Men: The Sharpneſs of their Hunger ſoon ſet them on Work; they left their Order and ran backwards and forwards for Water, and whatſoever elſe was neceſſary for the dreſſing their Victuals: *Abbàs* in the mean time took about a Thouſand of his beſt Men and came up to their Tents: *Serjabil* perceiving what Danger he was in, cried out to his Men to come to his Aſſiſtance, but there were ſcarce an hundred of them got together when *Abbàs* was come up cloſe to him, crying out, *O Troop of God! come out and fight with theſe Confederates of the Devil; you are in the right Way, but they are perjured Villains!* They fought but a very little while before *Serjabil* and about Threeſcore and ten of his Guard were killed; whereupon *Abbàs* held up a Flag of Quarter, which they readily ran to, except three Hundred who were all afterwards put to the Sword. [1] *Abbàs* let about two Hundred of them go. When *Almochtar* heard the News he wrote to *Mohammed* the Son of *Haniphiyah*, acquainting him with the Diſaſter, and proffering him to ſend a pow-

[1] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

erful

erful Army to his Aſſiſtance, if he would pleaſe to accept of it: *Mohammed* anſwered him that he was very well aſſured of the Sincerity of his Zeal for his Service; that if he had thought fit to make uſe of Arms, he ſhould not have wanted Aſſiſtance; but tho' he was reſolved to bear with Patience, and leave the Event to God, who was the beſt Judge. When the Meſſenger that brought *Almochtar*'s Letter took his leave, *Mohammed* ſaid to him, Bid *Almochtar* fear God, and abſtain from ſhedding Blood: The Meſſenger aſked him if he would not write that to him, *Mohammed* anſwered, "I have already commanded him to obey the great and mighty "God; and the Obedience of God conſiſts in "the doing all that is good, and the abſtaining "from all Evil." When *Almochtar* received the Letter he gave it another turn, and ſaid to the People, I am commanded to do that which is juſt, and reject Infidelity and Perfidiouſneſs. Abdolmélic An. Heg. 66 *capit Aug.* 7 *A. C.* 685.

This ſame Year the *Hoſeinians* went to *Meccah*, and performed a Pilgrimage there, under *Abu Abdollah Aljódali*, upon this occaſion. Though *Mohammed* the Son of *Haniphiyah*, and all the reſt of *Ali*'s Family, behaved themſelves very inoffenſively at *Meccah*, and were ſo far from making any Diſturbance, that they always perſuaded their Friends to Peace, who were ready to hazard their Lives in their Service, yet

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 66. capit Aug. 7. A. C. 685.

Abdollah eaſily found by Experience, that it would be impoſſible for him to ſucceed ſo long as they were alive, and refuſed the Oath of Allegiance. For though they did not ſtir themſelves, they had a very ſtrong Party; and a great many other diſaffected Perſons made uſe of the pretence of revenging the Death of *Hoſein*. He therefore reſolved to make an end of it all at once, and ſeized *Mohammed* and his Family, and ſeventeen of the principal *Cufians*, and Impriſoned them in the *Zemzem*, and ſet a Guard over them, and fixed them a time, in which he threatened them, if they did not come in he would put them to Death, and burn them to Aſhes. The *Zemzem* is the Name of a Pit at *Meccah* which the Muſlemans ſay was made out of that Spring which God cauſed to appear in favour of *Hagar* and *Iſhmael*, whom *Abraham* had turned out of his Houſe, and obliged to retire into *Arabia*; concerning this Well they relate a great many ſtrange things not proper to be inſerted in this place. Here they were ſhut up, but (ſays my Author) God whoſe Name be magnified and glorified, gave to them not to come in, though he ſhould execute all his Threats upon them. Whilſt they were in this Condition, they found means to write to *Mochtar* and acquaint him with their Circumſtances, deſiring alſo of the *Cufians* not to deſert them,

them, as they did *Hoſein* and his Family. When he received the Letter, he called the People together, and having read the Letter ſaid, This is from your Guide, and the pureſt of the Family of the Houſe of your Prophet, upon whom be Peace; they are left ſhut up like Sheep expecting to be killed and burnt; but [5] I ſhall give them ſufficient Aſſiſtance, and ſend Horſe after Horſe, as the Streams of Water follow one another. Then he ſent *Abu Abdollah Aljódali* with Threeſcore and ten Troopers, all Men of approved Valour. After him a ſecond with four Hundred. Then a third with one Hundred. A fourth with one Hundred. A fifth with Forty. And laſt of all a ſixth with forty more. In all, ſeven Hundred and fifty. Theſe went out at ſeveral times one after the other, and *Abu Abdollah* their Chief made a halt by the way, till he was joined by the two Companies, conſiſting of Forty each, and with this one Hundred and Fifty made haſte to the Temple of *Meccah*, crying out Vengeance for *Hoſein*. At laſt they went to the *Zemzem*, where they arrived in very good time, for *Abdollah* had got the Wood ready to burn his Priſoners, and there remained but two Days of the appointed time: They beat off the Guard, and broke open the *Zemzem*, and begged of *Mohammed* to give them leave to uſe

Abdolmelik An. Heg. 6 *cœpit Aug.* *A. C.* 685.

[5] Here the *Arabick* is ſomething obſcure.

Abdolmélick an. Heg. 66. expit Aug. 7. A. C. 685.

their liberty with the Enemy of God, *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*; but *Mohammed* anſwered that he would not [6] allow any fighting in the Sacred Place of the moſt high God. *Abdollah* ſaid, Do you think I will diſmiſs them unleſs they ſwear to me? nay and you ſhall ſwear too. *Abu Abdollah* anſwered, By the Lord of this Sacred Place thou ſhalt let them go, or we will cut thee to Pieces. *Abdollah* deſpiſing the Smallneſs of their Number, ſwore that if he ſhould give his Men leave it would not be an Hour's time before all their Heads were off. *Mohammed* the Son of *Haniphiyah* kept back his Friends, and would not let them fight, and *Abdollah* began to cool, when he ſaw another Captain come up with an Hundred Men, and a Second with the like Number; then two Hundred more in a Body with the Money; who went all to the Temple and cried out *Allah Acbar*, Vengeance for the Death of *Hoſein*. When *Abdollah* ſaw them he was afraid of them. They took him Priſoner, and intreated *Mohammed* to give them leave to diſpoſe of him as they thought fit, but he would not ſuffer them. The Money which they brought was diſtributed amongſt four Thouſand of *Ali*'s Friends, and the whole Buſineſs through the exceeding Gentleneſs of *Mohammed*'s Temper was amicably compromiſed.

[6] It is prohibited in the *Alcoran*, Ch. 2. ver. 187.

Before

Before *Merwan*'s Death, *Obeidollah* was ſent towards *Cufah* with an Army, and had leave to Plunder it for three Days.[6] Againſt him was ſent *Yezid* the Son of *Ares*, worthy to be mentioned upon the account of his heroick Courage and Preſence of Mind; for when Death appeared in his Face, and he was forced to be held upon his Aſs on both ſides, he appointed three Generals to command the Army during the Fight ſucceſſively, if there ſhould be occaſion for them. *Obeidollah* never reached ſo far as *Cufah*; and now in the firſt Month of the ſixty ſeventh Year, *Almochtàr* found himſelf at leiſure to ſend his Forces againſt him: There was one thing very remarkable in his Preparation; he made a Throne, and pretended that there was ſomething myſterious in it, telling the People, *That it was of the ſame uſe to them that the Ark was to the Children of* Iſrael; and accordingly in this Expedition againſt *Obeidollah*, it was carried upon a Mule on purpoſe into the Battel: The Prayer that they ſaid at this Ark was, *O God! grant us to live long in thy Obedience, and help us and do not forget us, but protect us.* And the People anſwered *Amen, Amen.* *Almochtar*'s General was *Ibrahim* the Son of *Aſhtar*; after a ſharp Engagement, *Obeidollah*'s Forces were beaten and himſelf killed in the Camp. *Ibrahim* cut off

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 67. *cœpit Jul.* 27. *A. C.* 686.

[6] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. *Abu'lpheda.*

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 67. *æpit Jul.* 27. *A. C.* 686.

his Head and burnt his Body. The Number of the Son of *Ziyad*'s Men that were drowned in the Flight, was greater than that which was slain in the Field. His Head with some others were sent to *Almochtar*.[3] Thus God revenged the Death of *Hosein* by the means of *Almochtar*, though *Almochtar* had no good design in it.[4] After the Success of this Battle, the People had such a Reverence for this Ark, that they almost Idolized it.

This Year, *Abdollah* sent his Brother *Musab* to govern *Basorah*: *Almochtàr* was sole Master of *Cufah*, where he persecuted all that he could lay his Hands on, who were not of *Hosein*'s Party. *Músab* rode muffled to *Basorah*, and when he alighted at the Temple, and went up into the Pulpit, the People cried out *Emìr*, *Emìr*, that is, *a Governour*, *a Governour*. He bad *Hàreth* his Predecessor give place, which he did, sitting one Step below him. Then having according to custom first praised God he began with these Words of the[5] Twenty eighth Chapter of the *Alcoran*; *We relate to thee, the History of* Moses *and* Pharaoh *with truth, for* [*the satisfaction of*] *those that believe*; till he came to these Words, and *was of them that defile the*

[3] *Abu'lpheda.* [4] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. [5] *Alcoran*, Ch. xxviii.

Earth;

Earth; and [9] pointed with his Hand towards *Syria*: And when he came at theſe Words, *Who were weakened in the Earth, and we ſhall make them Rulers, and make them Heirs:* Pointing towards *Hejaz* or *Arabia Petræa*: And at theſe Words, *And we ſhewed* Pharaoh *and* Haman, *and their Armies what they moſt feared*, he pointed again towards *Syria*. Then he ſaid to the *Baſorians*, "I hear that you uſe to give Names "to your *Emirs*; I have named my ſelf *Hejaz*, "that is *Arabia*. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 67 cœpit *Jul.* 27. *A. C.* 686.

Soon after one *Shebet* came to *Baſorah*, upon a crop-eared bob-tailed Mule, with his Cloaths rent, crying out as loud as he could, *Ya gautha, Ya gautha*, Help! Help! As ſoon as they had deſcribed the manner of his Appearance to *Muſab*, he ſaid he was ſure it muſt be *Shebet*, for no body elſe would do ſo but him, and ordered them to give him Admiſſion. He came with a heavy Complaint, ſeconded by a great many of the chief Men of *Cufah*, who repreſented the great Diſorders committed there, and their ſufferings under the Adminiſtration of *Almochtar*; particularly an Inſurrection of their Slaves againſt them, begging his Aſſiſtance, and perſuading him earneſtly to march with an Army againſt

[9] When he pointed towards *Syria* he meant *Abdolmélick* whom he compares to *Pharaoh* and *Haman*; and when he pointed towards *Arabia* he meant his Brother *Abdollah*.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 67. *cœpit Jul.* 27. *A. C.* 686.

Almochtar. He was very much inclined to hearken to their Propoſal, but was reſolved not to ſtir till *Almohàlleb* his Lieutenant over *Perſia* ſhould come to his Aſſiſtance. He wrote to *Almohàlleb* who made no great haſte, not very much approving this Expedition; but he obeyed the ſecond Summons, and came to him with large Supplies both of Men and Money. They joined their Forces, and marched towards *Cufah* againſt *Almochtar*, who was not wanting to his own Defence, but muſtered his Forces, and gave them Battle; after a bloody Fight *Almochtar* was beaten, and made his Retreat into the royal Caſtle of *Cufah*. *Muſab* purſued him and beſieged him there, where he continued behaving himſelf bravely till he was killed, upon which his Men ſurrendered to *Múſab* at Diſcretion, who put them every Man to the Sword. [1] They were in all ſeven Thouſand. *Almochtar* was then Sixty ſeven Years old.

[2] Thus died that great Man, who had beaten all the Generals of *Yezid*, *Merwàn* and *Abdolmélick*, all three Chaliphs of the Houſe of *Ommiyah*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Cufah*, and all *Babylonian Iràk*, whereof that City was the Capital, and never pardoned any one of thoſe who had declared themſelves Enemies of the Family

[1] This was in the Month *Ramadan* An. 67. [2] *D'Herbelot* in *Mochtàr*.

of

of the Prophet, nor thoſe whom he could believe tō have dipt their Hands in *Hoſein*'s Blood, or that of his Relations; ſo that it is ſaid that he killed near Fifty Thouſand Men of thoſe People, without reckoning thoſe who were ſlain in the Battles which he fought. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 68. *cœpit Jul.* 17. *A. C.* 687.

3 This Year the Sect of Separatiſts called *Azarakites*, ſworn Enemies to all eſtabliſhed Government, both Temporal and Spiritual, and particularly to the Houſe of *Ommiyah*, made an Eruption out of *Perſia*, and overran all *Iràk*, till they came near *Cufah*, and penetrated as far as *Madayen*. They committed all manner of Outrages as they went, deſtroying all they met, ripping open the Women with Child, and exerciſing the utmoſt Cruelty without Diſtinction of Sex or Age. There was a Lady of extraordinary Piety as well as Beauty, which one of them would have ſpared, to whom another anſwered, What! Thou art taken with her Beauty, thou Enemy of God, and haſt denied the Faith! and killed her. *Almohalleb* the Governour of *Mauſal* and *Meſopotamia*, muſtered his choſen Troops at *Baſorah*, and met them at a Place called *Saulàk*, where they fought deſperately for eight Months, without intermitting one Day. This Year there was ſuch a Famine in *Syria*, that they could not undertake any Expedition, nor

3 *An Heg.* 68. cœpit Jul. 17. A.C. 687.

lay

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 69. *cœpit Jul.* 5. *A.C.* 688.

lay Siege to any Town, becauſe of the great Scarcity of Proviſion. *Abdolmélick* encamped in a Place called *Botnàn* near to the Territories of *Kinniſrin*; his Camp was very much incommoded by the great Showers of Rain, however he wintered there, and afterwards returned to *Damaſcus*.

In the ſixty ninth Year, *Abdolmélick* left *Damaſcus* to go againſt *Múſab* the Son of *Zobeir*, and appointed *Amrou* the Son of *Saïd* to take care of *Damaſcus*, who ſeized upon it for himſelf,[a] which obliged *Abdolmélick* to return. Others ſay, that when he went out, *Amrou* the Son of *Saïd* ſaid to him, You are going to *Iràk*, and your Father gave me this Government after him, and upon that Conſideration I fought along with him, and you cannot be ignorant of the Pains I took in his Service; wherefore give me this Government after you. *Abdolmélick* would not hearken to his Propoſal, and *Amrou* returned to *Damaſcus*, whither *Abdolmélick* followed him cloſe. They ſkirmiſhed in the Streets ſeveral Days; at laſt the Women came with their Children crying out, How long will you fight and deſtroy one another for the Government of the *Coreiſh?* and with much ado parted them; and Articles of Peace were drawn between *Amrou* and *Abdolmélick*.

[a] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

But

But ſtanding in Competition for a Crown is a Crime never to be forgiven. Three or four Days after *Abdolmélick* ſent for him; he was in Company with his Wife and two or three Friends, who diſſuaded him from truſting himſelf in his Hands, but he reſolved to venture, and as he went out he ſtumbled: His Wife took the Omen, and repeated her Perſuaſions to ſtay him, but to no Purpoſe. He put on his Sword and took an Hundred Men along with him. When he came thither, he was introduced himſelf, but the Gates were ſhut upon his Men, and no Body permitted to go in along with him but only a little Foot-boy. When he came in *Abdolmélick* ſpoke very civilly to him, and placed him by him on the Couch where he ſat. After a long Diſcourſe he commanded a Servant to take his Sword off. *Amrou* expreſſing ſome Unwillingneſs to be diſarmed, What, ſaid *Abdolmélick*, would you ſit by me with your Sword on? After his Sword was off, *Abdolmélick* told him, that when he firſt rebelled againſt him he had taken an Oath that if ever he got him into his Power, he would put Fetters upon him; *Amrou* ſaid, he hoped he would not expoſe him in them to the People; *Abdolmélick* promiſed him he would not, and at the ſame time pulled the Fetters from under his Cuſhion, which were accordingly put upon his Hands and Feet. Then he

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he plucked him ſo violently againſt the Couch that he beat out two of his Fore-Teeth; after which he told him, that he would ſtill let him go if he thought he would continue in his Duty and keep the *Coreiſh* right; But, ſaid he, there never were two Men in one Country engaged in ſuch an Affair as you and I are concerned in but one of them expelled the other. Some ſay, that when *Abdolmélick* ſaw *Amrou*'s Teeth dropt out, as he was taking them in his Fingers, he ſaid, I ſee your Teeth are out, you will never be reconciled to me again after this; and immediately commanded him to be beheaded.

The *Muezzin* at the ſame time called to Evening Prayers. *Abdolmélick* went out to Prayers, and left the Execution of *Amrou* to his Brother *Adòlaziz* the Son of *Merwàn*; who ſtanding over him with his Sword, *Amrou* begged of him for God's Sake not to do that Office himſelf, but to leave it to ſome other Perſon that was not ſo nearly related, whereupon he threw away his Sword and let him alone. *Abdolmélick* made but ſhort Prayers, and when he came back, the People obſerving that *Amrou* was not long ago with him, acquainted his Brother *John* with the Matter, who took with him ſome of his Friends, and a Thouſand of *Amrou*'s Slaves, and made an Aſſault upon *Abdolmélick*'s Houſe,

Houſe, and broke open the Gates, and killed ſeveral of the Guards. In the mean time *Abdolmélick* wondering to find *Amrou* alive, aſked *Abdolaziz* the reaſon of it, who anſwering, that he had forborn him out of Compaſſion: *Abdolmélick* gave him reproachful Language, and calling for a Javelin he ſtruck *Amrou* with it, but it not penetrating, he ſeconded his Blow, ſtill to no purpoſe: Then feeling upon his Arm, he perceived he had a Coat of Mail on, at which he laughed and ſaid, *Couſin, you come well prepared!* Then he called for his Sword, and having commanded *Amrou* to be thrown upon his Back, he killed him; but was at the ſame time ſeized with ſuch a trembling, that they were forced to take him up, and lay him upon his Couch. All this while *John* and his Friends were preſſing in, killing and wounding all they met: Wherefore they threw out *Amrou*'s Head, to ſatisfie them that their fighting would be to no purpoſe; and *Abdolàziz* the Son of *Merwàn*, to appeaſe their Rage, threw Money amongſt them in plenty, When they ſaw the Head and the Money, they left fighting and fell to picking it up: But after the heat was over, it is ſaid that *Abdolmélick*, ſuch was his Covetouſneſs, recalled it all again, and ordered it to be put in the publick Treaſury. *John* was taken Priſoner and ſentenced to Death, but *Abdolaziz* begged of his Brother not to kill

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two

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two of the *Ommian* Family in one Day; whereupon he was Impriſoned for about a Month or more, after which he adviſed with thoſe about him concerning the putting him and his Friends to Death; he was anſwered that it was better let alone; that they were near Relations, and the beſt way would be to give them their liberty and let them go, if they would, to his Enemy *Muſab* the Son of *Zobeir*; that if they were killed in that Service, he would be rid of them by the hands of others; that if they returned and were delivered into his hands again, he might then without incurring any Cenſure deal with them according to his own Diſcretion. This Advice took place, and they went to *Muſab* the Son of *Zobeir*. Then *Abdolmélick* ſent to *Amrou*'s Wife for the Articles of Peace which he had ſigned to her Huſband; ſhe bad the Meſſenger go back, and tell him that ſhe had wrapt them up with him in his Winding-Sheet that he might plead his Cauſe againſt him with them before his Lord. This was an old Grudge between *Abdolmélick* and his Couſin *Amrou* begun in their Infancy, occaſioned by an old Woman of their own Family, whom they viſited frequently when they were Boys, and ſhe uſed to dreſs Victuals for them, and give each of them his Diſh by himſelf; and always ordered Matters ſo, as to raiſe Emulation between them,

and

and ſet them together by the Ears. So that they were either always quarrelling or elſe ſo obſtinately ſilent as not to ſpeak one Word. *Merwàn* before he died had received Information that *Amrou* had promiſed himſelf the Government after his Deceaſe, which made him make the more haſte to lay hold of a proper Opportunity of propoſing to the Congregation to ſwear to his Son *Abdolmélick* and *Abdòlaziz* after him, with which they readily complied without any Exception. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 69. cœpit Jul. 5. A. C. 688.

3 In the ſeventieth Year, the *Greeks* made an incurſion into *Syria*. *Abdolmélick*, who had Buſineſs enough upon his Hands already, between *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* in *Arabia*, and *Miſab* his Brother in *Iràk*, was not at leiſure to go againſt them, but agreed to pay the *Grecian* Emperor a Thouſand Ducats every Week. This ſame Year *Muſab* went to *Meccah* with prodigious Wealth and Cattel, and all manner of Furniture, which he diſtributed amongſt the *Arabians*. *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* went this Year on Pilgrimage.

4 *Abdolmélick*, now reſolved upon his Expedition into *Iràk* againſt *Muſab*, put to Death the principal Perſons that had been concerned with *Amrou* the Son of *Saïd*: he had ſent before him one *Caled* the Son of *Aſid*, who going

3 *An. Heg.* 70. cœpit Jun. 24. A.C. 689. 4 *An. Heg.* 71. cœpit Jun. 14. A.C. 690.

pri-

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 71. cœpit Jun. 14. A.C. 690.

privately into *Baſorah*, had begun to form a Party for him: *Muſab* having received Intelligence of his Proceedings, went to *Baſorah* in hopes of ſurpriſing him; but he being out of the way, he ſent for the Chief of the *Baſorians*, and reproached them ſeverally; one with the Meanneſs of his Family; another with ſome ſcandalous Action either of his own, or ſome of his Relations; all of them with ſomething; which Behaviour only exaſperated them, and made them more averſe to his Intereſt. *Abdolmélick* had in the mean time ſent ſeveral Letters to the leading Men full of large Promiſes: Amongſt the reſt he ſent one to the faithful *Ibrahim* the Son of *Alaſhtar*, who delivered it to *Múſab* ſealed up as it came. The Contents of it were, that if he would come over to his Party he would give him the Lieutenancy of *Iràk*; *Ibrahim* told him that he might depend upon it that he had written much to the ſame Purpoſe to all his Friends, and adviſed him to behead them; but *Múſab* did not approve of that Expedient, becauſe it would create an Averſion in all their Tribes; then *Ibrahim* adviſed him to impriſon them or put them in Chains, and ſet ſome body over them, who if he ſhould be Conquered ſhould ſtrike their Heads off, but if he got the Victory he might make a Compliment of them to their Tribes. *Múſab* anſwered, I have

have other Buſineſs to mind; God bleſs *Ahubeh-ràn* who gave me warning of the Treachery of the *Iràkians* as if he had foreſeen this very Buſineſs wherein I am now engaged. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 71. *cœpit Jun.* 14. *A. C.* 690.

The *Syrian* Nobility did not approve of *Abdolmélick*'s engaging himſelf in this Expedition; not that they diſliked his Deſign, but they choſe rather that he ſhould ſtay at home with them at *Damaſcus*, and reduce *Iràk* by his Generals, rather than expoſe his Perſon to the Hazards of War, fearing, leſt if he ſhould miſcarry, their Government might be in an unſettled Condition, and their Affairs embroiled. To this he anſwered, That no body was fit for that Undertaking but a Man of Senſe, and perhaps he might ſend a Man of Courage that wanted Conduct; that he found himſelf qualified both by his Abilities in War and his Perſonal Courage: That *Múſab* was of a couragious Family; that his Father *Zobeir* had been the moſt valiant of the *Coreiſh*, and that he himſelf was brave, but did not underſtand War, and loved an eaſy Life; and that he had ſome with him that would be againſt him, but for his own Men he could depend upon their Fidelity.

They joined Battle at a Place called *Maſken*. The *Iràkians*, according to their Cuſtom, were reſolved to betray *Múſab* before; for they did not intend to expoſe their Country to be ravaged by a *Syrian* Army for his Sake. His faith-

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 71. cœpit Jun. 14. A. C. 690.

ful Friend *Ibrahim* the Son of *Aſhtar* gave the firſt Charge, and repulſed [6] *Mohammed* the Son of *Haroun*, whom *Abdolmélick* ſupported with a freſh Company; and at the ſecond Charge *Ibrahim* was killed. *Muſáb*'s General of the Horſe ran away, and a great many of the reſt ſtood by and would not obey his Command: Then he called out, *O* Ibrahim! *but there is no* Ibrahim *for me to Day!* It is ſaid, that when *Múſab* was upon his March againſt *Abdolmélick*, *Abdolmélick* aſked if *Omer* the Son of *Abdollah* was with him; being anſwered No, for he had made him his Lieutenant of *Perſia*; he enquired next if *Almohalleb* was there, they told him No, he was Lieutenant over *Mauſal*: he aſked the Third Time if *Ibàd* the Son of *Hoſſem* was there; being anſwered in the Negative, and aſſured that he had left him behind him at *Baſorah*, he was exceeding glad and preſaged a certain Victory. For, ſaid he, he will have no body to help him.

When *Múſab* perceived his forlorn Condition, he perſuaded his Son *Iſa* to ride with thoſe Men he had to *Meccah*, and acquaint his Uncle with the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Irakians*: But *Iſa* (who muſt be very young, for his Father was but ſix and thirty) would not leave him, but told him that [7] his Life would do him no good if he ſur-

[6] That is as we pronounce, *Mahomet* the Son of *Aaron*.
[7] *Yacut Hamàwi*.

vived

vived him, and perſuaded him to make his Retreat to *Baſorah*, where he would find his Friends met together, and from whence he might go to the Governour of the Faithful, meaning his Uncle *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*: But *Múſab* ſaid, It ſhould never be talked among the *Coreiſh* that he ran away, nor that he came into the ſacred Temple of *Meccah* routed, and therefore bad his Son, if he choſe it, come back and fight; he obeyed and died in Battle, and his Father *Muſáb* was killed not long after him. It is ſaid, that during the Engagement *Abdolmélick* had ſent to *Múſab* and tendered him Quarter; but he anſwered, That ſuch Men as he was did not uſe to go from ſuch a Place at that (meaning the Field of Battle) without either conquering or being conquered. After he was grievouſly wounded with Arrows he was ſtabbed, and his Head cut off and carried to *Abdolmélick*, who proffered the Bearer a Thouſand Ducats, which he refuſed, ſaying, That he did not kill him in Obedience to him, but to revenge his own Quarrel, and for that Reaſon he would take no Money for bringing the Head. [1] *Múſab* was *Abdolmélick*'s intimate Friend before he was *Chaliph*, but marrying afterwards *Sekinah*, *Hoſein*'s Daughter, and *Ayeſha* the Daughter of *Telhah*, he was engaged by thoſe Marriages in

Abdolmélick. An. Heg. 71. *cœpit Jun.* 14. *A. C.* 690.

[1] *Abu'lpheda.*

§ 2. the

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 71. cœpit Jun. 14. A. C. 690.

the Intereſt of two Families that were at mortal Enmity with the Houſe of *Ommiyah*.

7 As ſoon as this Battel was over *Abdolmélick* entered into *Cufah*, and with it took Poſſeſſion of both the *Babylonian* and *Perſian Irâk*. As ſoon as he ſignified to the People that he expected they ſhould come in and take the Oaths to him, they came unanimouſly. Soon after he came into the Caſtle he enquired after *John* the Brother of *Amrou* whom he had killed; and being informed that he was not far off, he would have had his Men produced him; which they refuſing, unleſs he would firſt promiſe them that he ſhould ſuffer no Harm, he ſeemed to take it ill at firſt that they ſhould pretend to capitulate with him, but at laſt he condeſcended to promiſe them, and *John* made his Appearance. When he came into his Preſence, *Thou vile Wretch!* ſaid *Abdolmélick*, *with what Face wilt thou appear before thy Lord, after having* [8] *depoſed me? With that Face*, anſwered *John*, *that he hath created*. Then he took the Oath of Allegiance to him, and there was an End of that Buſineſs. He ordered vaſt Sums of Money to be diſtributed among the People, and made a ſplendid Entertainment, to which every body

7 MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. 8 That is as much as in him lay; for they uſe that Expreſſion, though a Prince was not actually depoſed.

that

that would come was welcome. When he was ſat down, *Amrou* the Son of *Hareth* an ancient *Mechzumian* came in; he called him to him, and placing him by him upon his *Sofa*, aſked him what Meat he liked beſt of all that ever he had eaten; [2] the old *Mechzumian* anſwered, An Aſſes Neck well ſeaſoned and well roaſted: You do nothing, ſays *Abdolmélick*, what ſay you to a Leg or a Shoulder of ſucking Lamb, well roaſted and [3] covered over with Butter and Milk? Whilſt he was at Supper he ſaid, Abdolmélick: An. Heg. 71. *cœpit Jun.* 14. *A. C.* 690.

How ſweetly we live, if a Shadow would laſt!

After Supper was over he took the old *Mechzumian* along with him to ſatisfy him concerning the Antiquities of the Caſtle, and when the Anſwers to all his Queſtions began of Courſe with *This was*, and *That was*, and *He was*, and the like, it raiſed a melancholly Reflection in the *Chaliph*, and he repeated this *Arabick* Verſe out of an ancient Poet;

And every thing that is new, (O Omaim!*) goes to Decay, and every one that IS to Day goes to HE WAS.*

[2] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. [3] Hence I obſerve that the *Arabians* had not altered their Cookery ſince *Abraham's* time, who made uſe of Butter and Milk when he entertained the Angels. See *Gen.* xviii. 8. There is ſome Obſcurity in the *Arabick*.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 71. cæpit Jun. 14. A. C. 690.

Then returning to his *Sofa* he threw himſelf upon it, and repeated theſe Verſes,

Proceed leiſurely becauſe thou art mortal, and chaſtiſe thy ſelf, O Man!

For what is paſt will not be *when it is gone, as that which is preſent will be paſt.*

Or,

For what was *will not* be *when it is paſt, as what* is *will be* it was.

[7] When *Múſab*'s Head was brought to him in the Caſtle, one that ſtood by ſaid, Now I recollect ſomething very particular of my own Obſervation; I ſaw *Hoſein*'s Head preſented in this ſame Caſtle to *Obeidollah*, *Obeidollah*'s to *Almochtar*, *Almochtar*'s to *Múſab*, and now at laſt *Múſab*'s to your ſelf. The *Chaliph* was ſurpriſed and concerned at this Diſcourſe, and commanded the Caſtle to be forthwith demoliſhed to avert the ill Omen.

[8] When the News of *Múſab*'s Death was brought to his Brother *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, he made a Speech to the People upon that Occaſion as follows, "*Praiſe be to God to* "*whom belongs the Creation and the Command of* "*all Things; who gives Dominion to whom he* "*pleaſes, and takes it away from whom he pleaſes;*

[7] MS. *Hun.* Num. 495, *D'Herbelot.* [8] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

"*and*

" *and ſtrengthens whom he pleaſes, and weakens* Abdolmélick
" *whom he pleaſes; only God never weakens him* An. Heg. 71.
" *that hath Truth on his Side, though he ſtands* capit Jun. 14.
" *alone, nor doth he ſtrengthen him whoſe Friend* A. C. 690.
" *is the Devil, though all the World ſhould joyn*
" *in his Aſſiſtance. There is News come from*
" Iràk *which is Matter both of Sorrow and Joy*
" *to us; it is the Death of* Múſab, *to whom God*
" *be merciful. Now what rejoyceth us is, that*
" *his Death is Martyrdom to him, and what is*
" *Matter of Grief to us, is the Sorrow where-*
" *with his Friends will be afflicted at his Depar-*
" *ture; but Men of Underſtanding will have re-*
" *courſe to Patience, which is of all the moſt noble*
" *Conſolation. As for my own Part, if I be a*
" *Sufferer in* Múſab, *I was ſo before in* [*my*
" *Father*] Azzobeir: [s] *Nor was* Múſab *any*
" *thing elſe but one of the Servants of God and an*
" *Aſſiſtant of mine. But the* Irakians *are trea-*
" *cherous and perfidious, they betrayed him and*
" *ſold him for a vile Price. And if we be killed,*
" *by God we do not die upon Beds as the Sons of*
" Abilâſi *die: By God there was never a Man*
" *of them killed in Fight, either in the Days of*
" *Ignorance or* Iſlam: *But we do not die but*
" *puſhing with Lances and ſtriking under the*
" *ſhadow of Swords. As for this preſent World*
" *it diverts from the moſt High King, whoſe*

[s] Here is a difficulty in the *Arabick.*

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 71. *cœpit Jun* 14. *A. C.* 690.

" *Dominion ſhall not paſs away, and whoſe King-*
" *dom ſhall not periſh; and if it [the preſent*
" *World] turns its Face I ſhall not receive it with*
" *immoderate Joy; and if it turns its Back I*
" *ſhall not bewail it with indecent Sorrow. I*
" *have ſaid what I had to ſay, and I beg Par-*
" *don of God both for my ſelf and you.*

[6] Whilſt *Mohalleb* was engaged againſt the Separatiſts they received Intelligence of *Múſab's* Death, before he and his Men knew any thing at all of it. Whereupon they called out to his Men, *What! will you not tell us what you think of* Múſab? They ſaid, He is the *Imàm* of the right way. *And he is*, replied the Separatiſts, *your Friend both in this World and that to come?* They anſwered, Yes. *And you are his Friends both alive and dead?* Yes. *And what do you think of* Abdolmélick *the Son of* Merwan? They ſaid, He is the Son of the accurſed; we are clear of him before God, and the ſhedding his Blood is more free for us than yours. *And you are*, continued the Separatiſts, *his Enemies both alive and dead?* Yes, we are his Enemies both alive and dead. *Well*, ſaid the Separatiſts, Abdolmélick *hath killedy our* Imàm Múſab, *and you will make* Abdolmélick *your* Imàm *to Morrow, though you waſh your Hands of him to Day and curſe his Father.* To which the other anſwered, You lye,

[6] An. Heg. 72. *cœpit Jun.* 3. A. C. 691.

ye

ye Enemies of God. But the next Day, when they were informed of the truth of it, they changed their Note, and *Mohàlleb* and all his Men took the Oath to *Abdolmélick:* Upon this account they were bitterly reproached by the Separatiſts, who ſaid to them, *Now, you Enemies of God! Yeſterday you were clear of him both in this World and the World to come, and affirmed that you were his Enemies both alive and dead, and now to Day he is your* Imàm *and your* Chaliph, *who killed your* Imàm *whom you had choſen for your Patron. Which of theſe two is the right?* They could not deny what they had ſaid the Day before, and were loath to give themſelves the Lye; ſo they anſwered, You Enemies of God! we were pleaſed with the other ſo long as he preſided over us; and now we approve of this as we did before of the other. To which the Separatiſts anſwered, *No, by God, but you are Brethren of the Devils, Companions of the Wicked, and Slaves to the preſent World.* This is the Account of that Conference. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 72. *cœpit Jun.* 3. *A.C.* 691.

Abdolmélick, now upon his return into *Syria*, made *Baſhur* his Brother Governour of *Cufah*, and *Caled* the Son of *Abdollah* Governour of *Baſorah*. When *Caled* came thither, he made *Mohalleb* Superviſor of the Tribute; indiſcreetly, for *Mohalleb* was the beſt General of the Age, and in all Probability the Victory which was gotten

Abdolmélick An.Heg. 72. cœpit Jun. 3. A.C. 691.

gotten by the *Azarakites* was owing to his Abſence: They beat *Abdòlaziz* who was ſent againſt them, and took his Wife Priſoner: As they were talking about what ſhe was worth, and valuing her at about an Hundred thouſand Pieces, one of the Chief of them ſaid, *What, ſhall ſhe eſcape ſo? I do not ſee that this Heathen doth any thing but cauſe diſturbance amongſt you*, and ſtruck her Head off.* Some that ſtood by, told him they could not tell whether they ſhould praiſe him or blame him, he anſwered he did it only out of Zeal. *Caled* wrote a Letter to *Abdolmélick* acquainting him with the loſs of the Army, and deſiring to know his Pleaſure, who anſwered him thus. "I underſtand by the Let-
"ter you ſent by your Meſſenger, that you ſent
"your Brother to fight againſt the Separatiſts;
"and received the account of your Slaughter
"and Flight; and I enquired of your Meſſen-
"ger where *Mahálleb* was, who informed me
"that he was your Lieutenant over *Ehwàz*;
"God rejected thy Counſel when thou ſenteſt
"thy Brother, an *Arabian* of *Meccah* to Battle,
"and didſt keep *Mohalleb* by thy ſide to gather
"Taxes, who is a Man of a moſt penetrating
"Judgment, and good Government, hardened in
"War, and is the Son of the Grandſon of it:
"See therefore and ſend *Mohálleb* to meet them

* MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

"in

" in *Ehwáz* or beyond *Ehwáz*; and I have ſent " to *Baſhur* to aſſiſt thee with an Army of *Cu-* " *fians*; and if thou goeſt and meeteſt thy Ene- " my, do not undertake any Enterprize againſt " him till thou haſt ſhewn him to *Mohálleb*, and " aſked his Advice about him if it pleaſe God. " Peace be upon thee, and the Mercy of God." *Caled* was not well pleaſed with the Contents of the Letter, both becauſe he had blamed him for ſending his Brother to manage the War, and becauſe he had laid him under the reſtraint of doing nothing without the Advice of *Mohálleb*. *Abdolmélick* ordered *Baſhur* to aſſiſt them with five Thouſand *Cufians*, and to ſend a Meſſenger firſt out of Complaiſance to *Mohálleb*, who was a Perſon of too great Conſideration, not to be treated with the utmoſt Reſpect. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 72. *capit Jun.* 3. *A. C.* 691.

Their Forces being ready, they marched and met the Enemy near the City *Ehwàz*, for the *Azarakites* were advanced ſo far, and almoſt come up to the Camp of the *Muſlemans*. There were Ships in the River, which *Mohálleb* adviſed *Caled* to ſeize; but before that could be put in Execution, there came a Party of the Enemies Horſe, and ſet them on Fire. As *Mohalleb* paſſed by one of his Generals, and perceived he had not Intrenched himſelf, he aſked him the reaſon of it. The other ſwore, he valued them no more than a Camel's Fart. *Mohálleb* bad him not deſpiſe

bdolmélick An. Heg. 72. cœpit Jun. 3. A.C. 691.

ſpiſe them, for they were the Lions of the *Arabians*. One of the *Azarakite* Poets heard what the General had ſaid to *Mohalleb*, and repeated three Verſes, the Meaning of which was, That he might be moſt properly compared to a Camel's Fart, whoſe good Works did not come up to his Pretences. They remained in their Intrenchments about twenty Days; and *Caled* and *Mohálleb* fell upon them, and, after as bloody a Battle as had been fought in the Memory of Man, entirely routed them and took Poſſeſſion of their Camp. *Caled* ſent *David* to purſue them, and diſpatched an Expreſs to *Abdolmélick* acquainting him with the Succeſs; who immediately commanded his Brother *Baſhur* to ſend four Thouſand Horſe more to join *David* and purſue them into *Perſia*: Theſe Orders were obeyed till they had loſt almoſt all their Horſes, and were quite tired, and almoſt ſtarved, ſo that the greateſt part of the two Armies returned on Foot to *Ehwàz*.

Thus *Abdolmélick* in the Seventy ſecond Year having brought all the Eaſtern Part of the *Muſleman* Empire entirely under his Subjection, had no Oppoſition left but what was made at *Meccah* by old *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*. Againſt him *Abdolmélick* ſent *Hejage* the Son of *Joſeph*, one of the moſt Eloquent as well as Warlike Captains that flouriſhed amongſt them, during the

the Reigns of the *Chaliphs*. One Reaſon among others that inclined him to employ him in that Service was, becauſe when *Abdolmélick* was upon his return into *Syria*, *Hejage* ſaid to him, I ſaw in my Dream that I had taken the Son of *Zobeir* and flayed him; wherefore ſend me againſt him, and commit the Management of that War to my Charge. The *Chaliph* was pleaſed with the Dream, and ſent him with a ſtrong Body of *Syrians* to *Meccah*, whither he had written before, promiſing them Protection and Security, upon Condition that they ſhould come under his Obedience. *Abdollah* ſent out Parties of Horſe againſt him, but in all the Skirmiſhes they came by the worſt. Hereupon *Hejage* wrote to *Abdolmélick* to ſend him ſufficient Force to beſiege *Abdollah*, aſſuring him that his Fierceneſs was very much abated, and that his Men deſerted daily. *Abdolmélick* wrote to *Thàrik* the Son of *Amer* to aſſiſt him, who joined him with five Thouſand Men. *Hejage* came to *Thayef* (a Town lying ſixty Miles Eaſtward of *Meccah*) in the Month *Shaaban* in the Seventy ſecond Year, and *Thàrik* came to him in the new Moon of *Dulhagiah*, but he did not go round the Temple, nor come near it, becauſe he was under a Vow; but kept himſelf in his Arms, and neither touched any Woman, nor anointed himſelf till after the Death of the Son of *Zobeir*.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 72. *cœpit Jun.* 3. *A.C.* 691.

Ab-

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 73. cœpit Maii 22. A. C. 692.

Abdollah killed the Sacrifice (either Camels or Oxen) on the [1] *killing Day*, that is the tenth of [2] *Moharram*; but neither he nor his Friends performed the Rights of Pilgrimage, becauſe they had not been at Mount *Arafat*, which is neceſſary in order to the making a true Pilgrimage, but they being beſieged could not do it.

This ſame Year *Abdolmélick* wrote to *Abdollah* the Son of *Hazim* to perſuade him to come in, and promiſed him to give him the Revenues of *Choſaran* for ſeven Years upon that Condition; who took his Proffer ſo diſdainfully, that he told the Meſſenger if it were not for making a Diſturbance between the two Tribes, he would have killed him; however he made him eat the Letter he brought. After this *Abdolmélick* ſent a General againſt him with ſufficient Force, and killed him. Others ſay that he was not killed till after the Death of *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and that *Abdolmélick* ſent *Abdollah*'s Head to the Son of *Házim*, imagining that he would not then ſtand out any longer; but it had a quite contrary Effect, for as ſoon as he ſaw it, he ſwore he would never come under his Obedience as long as he lived; then calling for a Baſon he waſhed the Head and Embalmed it, and wrapped it up in Linen and prayed over it, and ſent it to *Abdollah*'s Relations at *Medinah*;

[1] Arab. *Yaumolnehri*. [2] *An. Heg.* 73. cœpit Maii 22. A. C. 692.

and

and made the Meſſenger eat the Letter, telling him that if he had not been a Meſſenger he would have ſtruck his Head off: And ſome ſay that he cut his Hands and Feet off firſt, and afterwards his Head. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 73. *cœpit Maii* 22. *A. C.* 692.

[s] The whole time during which *Abdollah* was beſieged was eight Months and ſeventeen Nights. They battered the Temple of *Meccah* with Engines, and it Thundered and Lightened ſo dreadfully, as put the *Syrians* into a terrible Conſternation, and made them give over. At this *Hejage* ſtuck the corner of his Veſt into his Girdle, and putting one of the Stones into it that they uſed to throw out of the Engines, ſlang it; his Example ſet them on Work afreſh. The next Morning there came upon them Storm after Storm, and killed twelve of his Men, which quite diſpirited the *Syrians*. *Hejage* ſaid to them, O *Syrians*, do not diſlike this, I am a Son of *Tehámah:* This is the Storm of *Tehámah:* This Victory is juſt at hand: Rejoice at the News of it; their Men ſuffer as much by it as you do. The next Day there was another Storm, and ſome of *Abdollah*'s Men were killed, which gave *Hejage* opportunity to encourage his Men and ſay, Do not you ſee that they are hurt, and you are in a ſtate of Obedience, and they of Diſobedience? Thus they continued fighting till a little

[s] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

before

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 73. cœpit Maii 22. A.C. 692.

before *Abdollah* was killed. His Friends deſerted from him every Day, and ran over to *Hejage*. The greateſt part of the Inhabitants of *Meccah* did ſo, to the Number of ten Thouſand: Nay, his two Sons *Hamzah* and *Chobeib* left him, and went and procured Conditions for themſelves. When he perceived himſelf forſaken on all ſides, he went to his Mother (who was Grand-Daughter to *Abubeker* the firſt *Caliph*, and was then ninety Years of Age, a Woman of a moſt undaunted Spirit) and ſaid to her, "O Mother! The People have deſerted me "even to my own Children and Family, and I "have but a few left with me, and they are "ſuch as would hardly be able to ſtand it out "an Hours Space; and theſe People will give "me whatſoever I deſire in this World; what "do you adviſe me to do?" *Son*, ſaid ſhe, *judge for your ſelf; if you know that you are in the right, and pretend to be ſo, perſevere in it; for your Friends have died for the ſake of it; wherefore be not ſo obſtinately reſolved to ſave your Neck as to become the Scorn of the Boys of the* Ommian *Family! But if thou chuſeſt the preſent World, Alas! bad Servant! thou haſt deſtroyed thy ſelf, and thoſe that were killed with thee. And if thou ſayeſt I ſtood to the Truth, and when my Friends declined I was weakened! This is neither the part of an Ingenuous nor a Religious Man.*

Man. And how long can you continue in this World? Death is more eligible. Then *Abdollah* drew near, and kiſſed her Head, and ſaid, " By " God, this is the ſame Thought wherein I " have perſiſted to this very Day; neither did " I incline towards this World, nor deſire to live " in it, nor did any other Motive perſuade me to " diſſent, but my Zeal for God. However I had " a Mind to know your Opinion, and you have " added to the View which I had before: " Wherefore, Mother, look upon me as a dead " Man from this Day: Nor let your Grief be " immoderate, but reſign your ſelf to God's " Command; for your Son hath not ſtood in " the Footſteps of the Scandalous, nor done any " thing worthy of Reproach; nor prevaricated " in the Judgment of God, nor dealt treache- " rouſly in giving his Faith: nor ſupported him- " ſelf by doing Injury to any Perſon that deli- " vered up himſelf or entered into Covenant; " nor did any Injuſtice done by any of my Offi- " cers ever reach me that I approved of, but al- " ways diſcouraged it; nor was there any thing " that I preferred to the doing the Will of my " Lord. O God! thou knoweſt that I do not " ſay this for the Juſtification of my ſelf, but to " comfort my Mother, that ſhe may receive " Conſolation after my Deceaſe." She anſwer- ed, *I hope in God, I ſhall have good Comfort in*

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 73. *cœpit Maii* 22. *A. C.* 692.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 73. cœpit Maii 22. A. C. 692.

thee whether thou goeſt before me, or I before thee. Now go out upon my Soul, and ſee what will be the iſſue. To which he anſwered, " God give " thee a good Reward, O Mother! You will " not ceaſe praying for me, both before and " after." She anſwered, *That I never ſhall; others are killed in vain, but thou for the Truth. O God! be merciful to him for his Watchfulneſs in the long Nights and his Diligence* [6], and his Piety towards *his Father and me; O God, I reſign my ſelf to what thou ſhalt command concerning him; I am pleaſed with what thou doſt decree; give me in* Abdollah *the Reward of thoſe that are grateful and perſevering.* This was about ten Days before he was killed, and ſome ſay five. The Day whereon he was killed he went into the Houſe of his Mother, with his Coat of Mail on and his Helmet, and took hold on her Hand and kiſſed it. She ſaid, This Farewell is not for a long time. He told her he was come to take his leave of her, for this was his laſt Day in this Life. As he embraced her, ſhe felt the Coat of Mail, and told him that the putting that on did not look like a Man that was reſolved to die; he ſaid that he had not put it on, but only that he might be the better able to defend her; ſhe

[6] Here is a word or two which I do not ſo well apprehend the meaning of: *Watthemà, Phi'l Hawájeri'l Medinah wa Meccah.*

ſaid

ſaid ſhe would not be ſo defended, and bad him put it off. [7] Then ſhe bad him go out, aſſuring him that if he was killed he died a Martyr; he ſaid he did not ſo much fear Death as the being expoſed after it; to which ſhe courageouſly anſwered, that a Sheep when it was once killed never felt the flaying. Before he went out, to increaſe his Courage, ſhe gave him a draught with a Pound of Muſk in it. At laſt he went out, and defended himſelf to the Terror and Aſtoniſhment of his Enemies, killing a great many with his own Hands, ſo that they kept at a diſtance, and threw Bricks at him, and made him ſtagger; and when he felt the Blood run down his Face and Beard, he repeated this Verſe,

The Blood of our Wounds doth not fall down upon our Heels, but upon our Feet.

meaning, that he did not turn his Back upon his Enemies. Then they killed him, and as ſoon as *Hejage* heard the News he fell down and worſhipped. His Head was cut off, and his Body hung up, and they ſmelt the Perfume of the Muſk he had drank ſeveral Days after.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 73. *cæpit Maii* 22. *A. C.* 692.

Tharik ſaid to *Hejage* that never Woman bore a braver Man. How, ſaid *Hejage*, do you commend a Man that was in Rebellion againſt the Emperor of the Faithful? Yes, anſwered

[7] *Elmakin.*

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 73. *cœpit Maii* 22. *A. C.* 692.

Tharik, and he will excuſe us; do you only conſider that we have been beſieging him theſe ſeven Months, and he had neither Army nor ſtrong Place of Defence, nevertheleſs whenever we engaged him he was always a Match for us, nay ſuperior to us. This Diſcourſe of theirs reached *Abdolmélick*'s Ears, who ſaid that *Tharik* was in the right.

Abdollah was *Chaliph* nine Years, being inaugurated in the ſixty fourth Year, immediately after the Death of *Yezid* the Son of *Moawiyah*. He was a Man of extraordinary Courage, but covetous to the laſt degree. So that this Sentence paſſed amongſt the *Arabians* for a ſort of a Proverb, That there [illegible] never a valiant Man but was alſo liberal, till [illegible]dollàh the Son of *Zobeir*. He was in a great Repute upon the account of his Piety: He is ſaid to have been ſo fixed and unmoved when he was at Prayer, that a Pidgeon lighted upon his Head, and ſat there a conſiderable time, without his knowing any thing of the Matter. [3] *Abu'lpheda* ſays he wore a Suit of Cloaths [4] forty Years without putting them off his Back, but doth not inform us what they were made of. This Family of the *Zobeirs*

[3] *Abu'lpheda*. MS. *Poc.* N. 303. [4] The *Arabian* Hiſtorians never uſe Figures to expreſs their Numbers, but write them in Words at length. It is hardly to be ſuppoſed that the Tranſcriber would be guilty of ſuch a Miſtake as to write *Arbaina* for *Arbaah*, i. e. *Forty* for *four*; and the other Account is incredible.

paſſed

paſſed amongſt the *Arabians* for a half-witted ſort of People. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 73. cœpit Maii 22. A. C. 692.

After he was dead, all *Arabia* acknowledged *Abdolmélick* for their *Chaliph*, and *Hejage* took the Oaths of Allegiance for him. This Year *Mohammed* the Son of *Merwan* took *Aſſaphiyah* and beat the *Greeks*; and it is ſaid that this ſame Year *Othman* the Son of *Waled* fought the *Greeks* on the ſide of *Armenia* with four Thouſand Men, and beat their Army conſiſting of ſixty Thouſand.

5 *Hejage* now Maſter of all *Arabia* in the ſeventy fourth Year, pulls down the Temple of *Meccah*, which *Abdollah* had repaired, placing the Stone on the ou[illegible] of it again, and reſtoring it to the Form it w[illegible] before *Mahomet*'s time. He exerciſed moſt unmerciful Cruelty upon the poor *Medinians*, and ſtigmatized them with marks in their Necks and Hands; he uſed frequently to pick Quarrels with them without any Provocation, and puniſh them without any Crime. He met with one of them once and aſked him what was the reaſon he did not aſſiſt *Othman* the Son of *Affán*? He anſwered he did. *Hejage* told him he lyed, and immediately commanded a Stamp of Lead to be put upon his Neck. Thus he continued plaguing and tormenting them, till the *Azárakites* raiſing new

5 *An. Heg.* 74. cœpit Maii 12. A. C. 693.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 74. cœpit Maii 12. A. C. 693.

Commotions in the East, *Abdolmélick* thought his Service neceſſary in thoſe Parts, and made him Governour of *Iràk*, *Choràſan* and *Sigiſtàn*; upon which he removed from *Medinah* to *Cufah*, *Abdolmélick*'s Brother *Baſhar* being then dead. [3] He entered into *Cufah* muffled up in his Turbant; the Curioſity of the People drew them all round about him, who aſſured them they ſhould ſoon know who he was: Then going directly to the Moſque he mounted the *Membar* or Pulpit, where he treated them after a very rough manner, and ſwore that he would make the Wicked bear his own Burthen, and fit him with his own Shoe; and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, which increaſed their Terror and Averſion. [4] One Day when he went into the Pulpit, after a ſhort Pauſe he roſe up and ſaid, "O *Irakians!* methinks I ſee the Heads [*of* "*Men*] ripe and ready to be gathered, and Tur- "bants and Beards ſprinkled with Blood."

The Day after he came to *Cufah*, hearing a noiſe in the Street, he went directly to the Pulpit, and made a moſt reproachful Speech to them, ſwearing that he would make ſuch an Example of them by the Severity of his Puniſhments, as ſhould exceed all that went before it, and be a Pattern for all that ſhould come after

[3] *An. Heg.* 75. cœpit Maii 1. A. C. 694. [4] *Abu'lpheragius.* MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

it.

it. He then began to give daily Inſtances of his Cruelty, and his Rage vented it ſelf particularly upon thoſe that had any hand in the Murther of the *Chaliph Othman*. From thence he went not long after to *Baſorah*, where he made them a Speech much to the ſame purpoſe that he had done before at *Cufah*; and to give them a taſte of his Diſcipline, cauſed one of them to be Beheaded upon the Place, who had been informed againſt as being a Rebel. This provoked the *Iràkians* to ſuch a degree, that they made an Inſurrection againſt him, but to no purpoſe, for he beat them in a Field fight, and having ſent eighteen of their Heads to *Mohalleb* returned to *Baſorah*. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 75. *cœpit Maii* 1. *A. C.* 694.

The *Azarakites* appearing with conſiderable Forces, *Hejage* ſent *Mohalleb* and *Abdorrahman* the Son of *Mehneph* againſt them: They had good Succeſs at the beginning; but *Abdorrahman*, thinking it a diſparagement to be commanded by *Mohalleb*, neglected his Advice and would not Intrench, which gave the Enemy an opportunity of taking the advantage of him, and cutting him off. The Inſurrection of the *Baſorians* againſt *Hejage* gave the *Azarakites* great Encouragement at firſt, who hoped to make the beſt uſe of their mutual Diſſentions; but after that Tumult was quelled, they found themſelves diſappointed.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76. cæpit April 21. A.C. 695.

3 But the greateſt Oppoſition that *Hejage* ever met with in the whole courſe of his Life, was begun by *Shebib* a *Karegite*, and *Salehh* another Sectary, who having been both on Pilgrimage at *Meccah* in the ſeventy fifth Year, when *Abdolmélick* was there, formed a Conſpiracy againſt him. The *Chaliph* being informed of it, ſent to *Hejage* to ſeize them; but notwithſtanding his Vigilance *Salehh* ſtaid very ſecure for a Month's ſpace at *Cufah*, where he concerted Meaſures with his Friends, and provided all things neceſſary for his Undertaking. His Sect were called the *Safrians*, and he was the firſt of them that ever appeared openly in Arms; he was a Man much given to Devotion, and had a great many Followers both in *Mauſ*[illegible]nd *Meſopotamia* to whom he uſed to read and expound the *Alcoran*. Some of his Auditors deſired that he would ſend them a Copy of what they once heard him deliver; he condeſcended to their Requeſt, and it was as followeth.

" [4] Praiſe be to God, who hath created the " Heavens and the Earth, and appointed the " Darkneſs and the Light; they that deny the " Faith make an equal to the Lord. *O God! as* " *for us we will not make any equal to thee*, nor " will we haſten but to thee, nor will we ſerve

[3] *An. Heg.* 76. cœpit April 21. A.C. 695. [4] *Alcoran* Chap. vi. ver. 1.

" any

" any beſides thee. To thee belong the Creation Abdolmélick
" and the Government, and from thee come An. Heg. 76.
" good and hurt, and to thee [6] we muſt go. *cæpit April* 21.
" And we teſtify that *Mahomet* is thy Servant, *A. C.* 695.
" and thy Apoſtle whom thou haſt ſingled out,
" and thy Prophet whom thou haſt choſen, and
" in whom thou haſt delighted, that he ſhould
" convey thy Meſſage, and thy Warning to thy
" Servants; and we bear Witneſs that he con-
" veyed the Meſſage, and admoniſhed the People,
" and invited to the Truth, and ſtood in Righte-
" ouſneſs, and helped Religion, and made War
" upon the [7] Aſſociators, till God took him,
" upon whom be Peace. I exhort you to truſt
" in God, and to abſtain from the preſent World,
" and to deſire the Hereafter, and frequently to re-
" member Death, and to love the Believers, and
" to ſeparate your ſelves from the Converſation
" of evil Doers. For Abſtinence from the pre-
" ſent World increaſeth the deſire of the Ser-
" vant towards that which is with God, and
" cauſeth his Body to be at leiſure to obey God;
" and the frequent Remembrance of Death
" maketh the Servant ſtand in fear of his Lord,
" ſo as to be moved with Love towards him,
" and to humble himſelf before him. The ſe-
" parating from evil Doers, is a Law to the

[6] *Arab.* is the going. [7] So they call all Idolaters and Chriſtians, as joining Partners with God.

Muſle-

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76. *cœpit April* 21. *A. C.* 695.

" *Muſlemans*, God moſt high ſaith in his Book, " [4] *Never pray for any of them that are dead,* " *nor ſtand at his Grave, for they denied God* " *and his Apoſtle, and died doing Evil.* And the " love of the Faithful is a means whereby the " Favour of God is attained, and his Mercy, " and his Paradiſe, (God make us and you of " the Number of thoſe that bear Witneſs to the " Truth, and perſevere.) Now it is of the " gracious doing of God towards the Believers, " that he ſent them an Apoſtle of their own, " who taught them the Book and Wiſdom, and " cleanſed them, and purified them, and kept " them in their Religion, and was gentle and " merciful to the Faithful, till God took him, " the Bleſſing of God be upon him. Then the " [5] Verifier ſucceeded him with the good liking " of the *Muſlemans*, and governed according to " his Direction and Tradition, till he went to " God, God be merciful to him. He left *Omar* " his Succeſſor, and God made him the Go- " vernour of this Flock, and he managed by the " Book of God, and revived the Tradition of " the Apoſtle of God; neither did he ceaſe to " do Juſtice to the People committed to his

[4] *Alcoran*, Chap. ix. 85. [5] *Arab. Aſſiddik.* It is the Surname of *Abubeker*, which *Mahomet* gave him becauſe he verified or aſſerted the Truth of *Mahomet*'s Journey to Heaven in the Night.

" Charge,

" Charge, nor feared any Accuſation in the
" Cauſe of God till he went to him, God have
" mercy upon him. After him *Othman* govern-
" ed the *Muſlemans*, and he purſued a Shadow,
" and broke down the Bounds, and perverted
" Judgment, and weakened the Faithful, and
" ſtrengthened the Wicked, and the *Muſlemans*
" went to him and killed him, and God and
" his Apoſtle are clear of him. And after him
" the People agreed to give the Government to
" *Ali* the Son of *Abu Taleb*, who did not make
" it his Buſineſs to judge according to the Com-
" mand of God to Men; but joined himſelf to
" erroneous People, and was fixed amongſt
" them and played the Hypocrite; and we are
" clear of *Ali* and his Sectaries. Wherefore pre-
" pare your ſelves, (God have mercy upon you)
" with Alacrity for the holy War, againſt theſe
" jarring People, and theſe erroneous and un-
" juſt *Imams*; and for the going out of this
" tranſitory Manſion, to the Manſion that ſhall
" remain; and for the being joined to your Bre-
" thren the Faithful who have certain Aſſur-
" ance; who ſold the preſent World for the
" other, and laid out their Subſtance in queſt
" of the Favour of God in the latter end. Nei-
" ther be afraid of being killed for the ſake of
" God; for the being killed is eaſier than Death;
" and Death cometh upon you quicker than
" Thought,

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76 cæpit April 21. A.C. 695.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76. *cœpit April* 21. *A. C.* 695.

" Thought, and makes a Separation between " you and your Children, and your Families, " and your preſent World, notwithſtanding " your exceeding Averſion to it, and your fear " of it: Wherefore ſell your ſelves and your " Subſtance in Obedience to God, that you may " ſecurely enter into Paradiſe, and embrace the " Black-eyed Girls. God make us and you thank- " ful, and full of Remembrance, ſuch as are di- " rected in the Truth, and do that which is " right according to it."

Once when he was amongſt his Friends, he broke out into theſe Expreſſions, " What do you " ſtay for? How long will you ſtand ſtill? For, " this Iniquity hath ſpread it ſelf, and this Inju- " ſtice is grown to an exceeding vaſt exorbitant " height and diſtance from the Truth in defiance " of the Lord. Wherefore let us come to ſome " Reſolution, and ſee what is to be done." In the midſt of theſe Speeches there came a Letter from *Shebib* to *Salehh*, to acquaint him that ſince he had complied with his Requeſt, in making an attempt upon the preſent Powers, he deſired to be informed in what Condition his Affairs were; that he thought there was no time to be loſt; that he was not ſure he ſhould not be overtaken by Death before he had an opportunity of being engaged in a holy War, againſt theſe wicked ones. *Salehh* returned Anſwer, that he waited only

only for him; that his delay had raiſed in him ſome Suſpicion; that they were making all neceſſary Preparations, and ſtaid for nothing but his coming. *Shebib* gathered together his ſmall Company and joined *Salehh* in *Dara'leizirah*, over which *Mohammed Ben Merwan* was Governour. They ſeized ſome of his Horſes in a neighbouring Village, upon which they mounted their Foot. *Mohammed* ſoon received Intelligence of their March, but deſpiſed the ſmallneſs of their Number (which did not exceed one Hundred and twenty) and commanded *Adi* to go againſt them with five Hundred Men, who begged his Excuſe, and told him that he knew that one of their Men was as good as an Hundred of theirs, and that it was unreaſonable to ſend him with ſuch an unequal Force; then *Mohammed* ordered him Five hundred more: So he marched from *Harrad* with this Thouſand, as unwilling as if he had been led to the Place of Execution. When he drew near to *Salehh*, he ſent a Meſſenger to let him know that he was not for fighting, and if he would depart out of that Territory, and invade ſome other, he would not oppoſe him. *Salehh* ſaid to the Meſſenger, Go and tell him, that if he is of our Opinion it ſhall be ſo, but if he be in the Meaſures of the Tyrants, and the *Imàms* of Enmity, we know what to do. To which *Adi* anſwered,

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76. *cœpit April* 21. *A. C.* 695.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76. cœpit April 21. A.C. 695.

ſwered, that he was not of his Opinion, but that he did not come to fight either againſt him, or any one elſe. *Salehh* had no ſooner received this Anſwer, but he rode full ſpeed and ſurpriſed *Adi* ſaying the Noon Prayers; who ſuſpected nothing of the matter, till he ſaw the Horſe juſt coming upon him; his Men were all out of order, and put to the Rout without any Reſiſtance. He trampled down *Adi* and his Standard as he was at Prayers, and moving directly to his Camp, took Poſſeſſion of all that was in it. They that eſcaped carried this ſad News to *Mohammed*, who was very angry, and ſent *Caled* the Son of *Jora* with One Thouſand five Hundred Men, and *Hareth* with one Thouſand five Hundred more. [6] Calling them both together, he bad them go out againſt theſe wicked Separatiſts, and to add to their ſpeed, told them that he that came up with the Enemy firſt ſhould command the other. Enquiring after *Salehh* they were informed that he was marched towards *Amed*; they kept equal pace, and towards the Evening came up with *Salehh*, who ſent *Shebib* againſt *Hareth*, whilſt he charged the other General himſelf. The Victory was dubious a long time, notwithſtanding the Diſproportion of the Numbers; for one of the Separatiſts could beat ten or twenty of the other; at laſt *Caled* and *Hareth*

[6] MS. *Laud.* Numb. 161. A.

per-

perceiving that their Horſe were repulſed; alighted and fought on Foot; this quite altered the Condition of the Battle; for by this means they ſupported themſelves with their Lances againſt the Enemies Horſe, and at the ſame time their Archers galled them, and the remainder of their Horſe trampled them down. Thus they continued fighting till Night parted them, at which time *Salehh* had loſt thirty Men, and *Caled* and *Hareth* more than Threeſcore and ten. Both Parties were ſufficiently weary of one another, for the Battle was very ſharp the time it laſted, and a great many were wounded on both ſides. After they were parted and retired to their reſpective Camps, having ſaid their Prayers, and refreſhed themſelves with ſuch Fragments as they had, *Salehh* aſked *Shebib* his Advice, who told him that they were over-matched, and that the Enemy would by intrenching themſelves prevent any Attempt againſt them. Upon this they Decamped under the Protection of the Night, and marched acroſs over *Meſopotamia* till they came to *Mauſil*, and from thence to a place called *Daſcarah*, where *Hejage* having received Intelligence of their approach, ſent a Body of Five Thouſand Men againſt them, under the Command of *Hareth Alhamdáni*. Three Thouſand of them were *Cufians* of the old Soldiers, and the other two Thouſand were choſen Men.

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Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76. cœpit April 21. A.C. 695.

Men. Whilſt they were marching to *Daſcarah*, *Salehh*, was gone to *Jaloúta* and *Catikin*; *Alhareth* purſued him to a Place called *Modháge*, that lies upon the Borders of *Mauſil*, between *Mauſil* and *Juchi*. There they engaged. *Salehh* had then with him no more than ninety Men, theſe he divided into three Companies, Thirty in each: In a ſhort time *Salehh* was killed. *Shebib* was beaten off his Horſe, and fought on Foot till he came to the Place where *Salehh* lay dead; whereupon he called out to the *Muſlemans* to come to him, for they had no Commander left, and bad them turn Back to Back, and make their Retreat to a neighbouring empty Caſtle. This they performed in exceeding good Order, for Seventy of them got in ſafe. *Hareth* ſurrounded them in the Evening, and bad his Men only ſet fire to the Caſtle-Gates, and ſo leave them there till the Morning, where they might be ſure to find them. *Shebib* knew very well that what was to be done muſt be done by the favour of the Night, becauſe it would be abſurd to expect that they ſhould be able to defend themſelves againſt ſuch a Force in the Morning; and his Men having firſt given him their hands in token of their Submiſſion; the Gates of the Caſtle being burnt to Coals, they wetted their Saddle Cloths, and ſpreading them over the Coals, ſtept over. *Hareth* and his Men were

were in their Camp without any Apprehenſion of danger, till about Midnight they found *Shebib* and his Men cutting all to pieces in the midſt of the Camp. *Hareth* himſelf was ſtruck down, but his Men carried him off the Ground, and ran away in the greateſt Confuſion and Conſternation. This is the firſt Victory that *Shebib* got; which added ſuch Courage to his Party that they daily increaſed, and became terrible to *Hejage* himſelf, who never omitted any Endeavour to extirpate them. After a great many Battles, wherein *Shebib* was always Superior, whilſt *Hejage* was gone to *Baſorah* he ſeized the City of *Cufah*. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76. *cœpit April* 21. *A. C.* 695.

This Year *Mohalleb* died, whom *Hejage* had made Governour of *Choraſan*: He was a Perſon of extraordinary Character, both for his Abilities and generoſity of Temper. When he felt Death approaching, he called his Sons about him and gave them a bundle of Arrows to break, which they told him they could not: He aſked them next if they could break them ſingly, they anſwered Affirmatively, he bad them imagine themſelves to be like that bundle of Arrows.

[3] This Year *Abdolmélick* cauſed the firſt Money to be Coined that ever was in uſe among the *Arabians* of their own; for before they uſed to trade with *Greek* and *Perſian* Money. The

[3] *Ebno'l Athir* MS. *Poc.* Num. 137.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 76. cœpit April 21. A. C. 695.

occaſion was thus. *Abdolmélick* uſed to write in the beginning of the Letters that he ſent to the *Greek* Emperour, *Say, God is One.*[4] Or, *Say, there is one God*; and then mention the Prophet with the date of the *Hegirah*: Whereupon the *Grecian* Emperour ſent him Word, that he had made ſuch and ſuch Innovations in his manner of writing, and bad him alter it, or elſe he would ſend him ſome Coins with ſuch a mention of their Prophet upon them, as they ſhould not very well like. *Abdolmélick* was angry at this, and ſaid *A Curſe upon their Coins*; and from that time began to make Money. *Hejage* ſtamped ſome with this Inſcription, *Say, there is one God*, which gave great offence to the *Muſſemans*, becauſe the Sacred Name of GOD would be expoſed to the Touch of unclean Perſons of both Sexes. *Somyor* a *Jew* regulated their Coinage, which was but rude at firſt, after whom it received ſeveral Improvements in the ſucceeding Reigns.

[5] Now though *Shebib* had beaten the Army which *Hejage* had ſent againſt him, and made ſuch a vigorous Oppoſition, that the *Cuſians* were not able to keep the Field; yet *Hejage*, reſolved not to bear his Inſults any longer, re-

[4] *Alcoran.* Where God is introduced ſpeaking ſo to *Mahomet.* [5] *An. Heg.* 77. cœpit April 9. A. C. 696. MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A

preſented

preſented the Condition of that part of the Country to the *Chaliph Abdolmélick*, who reinforced him with a ſufficient Number of *Syrians*, with which he gave *Shebib* Battle near *Cufah*. *Shebib* made a noble Defence, having in all but ſix hundred Men, but was forced at laſt to give way to the *Syrians*, whom *Hejage* was ſcarce able to hold up againſt him. At laſt *Shebib*'s Brother was killed and his Wife *Gazálah*, who had attended him when he went firſt to *Cufah*, and made a Vow to ſay her Prayers in the great Temple, and read the *Cow* and the *Family of Amram* there (they are the Second and Third Chapters of the *Alcoran*) which ſhe had accordingly performed: A Body of *Syrians* purſued *Shebib*, who killed an hundred of them with the loſs of only thirty of his own Men. Some of them were ſo tired with their March and the Fight, that when they ſtruck with their Swords they could not carry an Edge; and ſome of them ſtruck as they ſat, becauſe they were not able to riſe. In this condition *Shebib* deſpairing of doing any thing left them, and paſſing over the *Tigris* went towards *Juchi*: Afterwards repaſſing the *Tigris* at [1] *Waſet*, he bent his Courſe towards *Ebwaz*; from thence into *Perſia*, and ſo on to *Kerman*, where he reſted and refreſhed

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 77. *cœpit April* 9. *A.C.* 696.

[1] This is by way of *Prolepſis*, for *Waſet* was not then built. *Abno'l Athir.*

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 77. æpit April 9. A. C. 696.

himſelf and his Men: In the mean time *Hejage* ordered his Wife *Gazálah*'s Head to be waſhed and buried. Soon after *Shebib* began to advance forwards again, againſt whom *Hejage* ſent *Sophyan* the Son of *Alabrad*, whom *Abdolmélick* had ſent to his aſſiſtance out of *Syria*. They met at a Bridge called *Dojail el Ehwaz*. *Shebib* paſſed the Bridge firſt, and after a ſharp Encounter was repulſed. Returning again he renewed the Battle with Vigour, but was beaten back; and when he came to the Bridge he made a Stand with about an hundred Men, who fought ſo bravely till the Evening that the *Syrians* never felt themſelves ſo handled before. *Sophyan* perceiving that he could do nothing againſt them, commanded the Archers to ſhoot them, which they did for a while, till *Shebib* and his Men ruſhed in upon them with their Swords and killed above thirty of them; and then wheeling about he fell upon *Sophyan*, and they continued fighting deſperately till Night, and then retreating, *Sophyan* commanded his Men not to purſue them. When *Shebib* came to the Bridge, he commanded his Men to go over before him, reſolving to renew the Fight in the Morning. He brought up the Rear, and as he was upon the Bridge his Horſe leaped upon a Mare that was before him and looſned the Stones of the Bridge. *Shebib*'s Foot ſtriking at the ſame time upon the Edge

Edge of a Boat, he was diſmounted and fell into the Water. [8] When he roſe up he ſaid, *When God decrees a thing it is done.* Then putting up his Head a Second time he ſaid, *This is the Decree of the Almighty the Allwiſe* [*God!*] Theſe were the laſt Words of that great Captain, concerning whoſe Mother they relate this remarkable Story:

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 77. *cæpit April* 9. *A. C.* 696.

[9] *Yezid* the Son of *Naim* was ſent by *Othman*'s command to aſſiſt the *Syrian Mahometans* againſt the *Greeks* in the twenty fifth year of the *Hegirah.* The *Muſſeman* obtaining the Victory the Chriſtians were expoſed to Sale. Among the reſt he eſpied a tall, beautiful, black-eyed Maid which he bought, and having brought her to *Cufah* commanded her to turn *Mahometan*, and upon her Refuſal cauſed her to be beaten: This only increaſed her Averſion towards him, ſo that he was glad to let her alone to bring her to a good Humour. Afterwards ſhe proved with Child of *Shebib*, and her Fondneſs to her Maſter increaſing daily, ſhe turned *Mahometan* of her own accord; becauſe ſhe knew it would be agreeable to him. So that ſhe changed her Religion before *Shebib* was born, which was on the tenth of the Month *Dulhagiah*, being the day on which the Pilgrims kill the Sacrifices at *Meccah.*

[8] *Elmakin.* [9] MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. *Ebno'l Athir.* MS. *Poc.* Num. 137.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 77. cœpit Apr. 9. A. C. 696.

Awaking out of a Slumber ſhe ſaid, I ſaw, as one that ſleeps ſees, that there went out from before me a Flame which diffuſed it ſelf round about the Heavens, and ſpread it ſelf to every quarter; after which a Coal dropt into a great Water and was quenched; now I have brought him forth upon the day wherein you ſhed Blood; and I interpret my Dream thus, That this Son of mine will be a Man of Blood, and that his Condition will be exalted to a very high degree in a ſhort time. Hearing a falſe Rumour once of his being killed ſhe gave no Credit to it, but as ſoon as ſhe heard he was drowned ſhe believed it, ſaying that ſhe knew from the time of his Birth that he would come to no other End.

His Body being drawn up with a Net, they cut off his Head and ſent it to *Hejage*; when he was opened they found his Heart prodigiouſly firm and hard like a Stone.

[1] In the eighty firſt year died *Mohammed Ben Haniphiyah* the third Son of *Ali*, who becauſe he was not deſcended from *Mahomet* as *Haſan* and *Hoſein* were is not reckoned amongſt the *Imàms*, notwithſtanding there were ſeveral of his Followers who ſecretly owned him to be lawful *Chaliph* after *Hoſein*'s Death. Some of the Sectaries look upon him as a great Prophet whom God hath taken and preſerved alive in a

[1] *An. Heg.* 81. cœpit Feb. 25. A. C. 700.

cer-

[y] certain Mountain; and that he ſhall hereafter appear again and fill the Earth with Juſtice and Piety, as it is at preſent full of Impiety and Wickedneſs. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 82 *cœpit Feb.* 14. *A.C.* 701.

[z] From the time of *Shebib*'s Death the *Saracen* Empire was free from any Diſturbance within it ſelf, till the eighty ſecond year, when *Abdorrahmàn* the Son of *Mohammed* raiſed a very dangerous Commotion in the Eaſtern part of it upon this occaſion. *Hejage*, who hated him, ſent him with an inconſiderable Force againſt *Zentil* King of the *Turks*, with Orders to carry the War into the midſt of his Country, with a malicious deſign to deſtroy him. *Abdorrahmàn* received ſecret Intelligence of his barbarous Intentions towards him, and ſoon acquainted his Men with the Meaning of the Expedition they were engaged in. The Soldiers were all in a Rage to find themſelves ſo baſely betrayed, and under a pretence of going to War ſent on purpoſe to be murdered, and fall a Sacrifice to *Hejage*'s Malice againſt their General: They vowed Revenge, and unanimouſly ſwore to be true to *Abdorrahmàn*, and renouncing all manner of Subjection to *Hejage*, prepared themſelves to revenge his Perfidiouſneſs. *Abdorrahmàn*, having firſt concluded a Peace with the *Turk*, returned into *Irak* and marched directly againſt *Hejage*,

[y] *Redwa.* [z] An. Heg. 82. *cœpit Feb.* 14. A. C. 701.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 82. cæpit Feb. 14. A. C. 701.

who being before informed of it had petitioned *Abdolmélick* for Succours out of *Syria*, who ſent him a conſiderable Army. With theſe Supplies *Hejage* marches againſt him, but being beaten in the firſt Battle, *Abdorrahmàn* carries his Victorious Army to *Baſorah*, where a great many of the Citizens throwing off their Allegiance to *Abdolmélick*, took the Oath to him, and Intrenching themſelves on one ſide of the City, they ſoon obtained a ſecond Victory over their Enemies. From thence he went to *Cufah*, where he was ſo far from meeting with any Oppoſition that the Citizens came out of their own accord to meet him, and took the Oath of Allegiance. In the mean time *Hejage* gathered together all the Forces he was able; and *Abdorrahmán*'s Army on the other ſide was increaſed to the number of an hundred thouſand Men, among whom were ſeveral of Prime Note among the *Baſorians*, who had conceived an Averſion againſt *Hejage* upon the account of his Cruelty. They encamped [6] near one another; and in the ſpace of an hundred days fought fourſcore and one Battles. At laſt *Hejage* put *Abdorrahmàn* to flight, and cut off four thouſand of his Men. *Abdorrahmàn* retreated to *Sahàn*, where being ſeized by *Hejage*'s Lieutenant who was going to him;

[6] *Hejage* in *Dairkorrah* and *Abdorrahmàn* in *Dairalimaiim*.

Zentil

Zentil the *Turk*, his Friend and Ally, having received notice of it came to his Reſcue; but upon his being [5] threatened with a War by *Hejage* in caſe he refuſed to deliver him up, he was forced to part with him. *Abdorrahmàn* having now no remedy left, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of his moſt implacable Enemy, took an opportunity of killing himſelf by a fall from the top of an high Houſe. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 82. *cœpit Feb.* 14. *A. C.* 701.

[6] In the eighty third year *Hejage* built a City upon the River *Tigris* which he called *Waſet*, from its lying in the *Middle* between *Baſorah* and *Cufah*, that being the Signification of the Arabick Word. [7] The *Perſian* Geographer ſays, that it is Situate at an equal diſtance from *Bagdad*, *Cufah*, *Ehwaz* and *Báſorah*, that is, about fifty Leagues from each of them.

Now though *Hejage* ſurvived *Abdolmélick* and managed all the chief Affairs for ſome time under his Son *Waled*, yet ſince we muſt terminate this part of our Hiſtory with the Reign of this *Chaliph* (which was deſigned to have been carried down to the Line of the *Abbaſides*) and it being very uncertain whether or no we ſhall ever have either Opportunity or Inclination to continue it any farther; before we take our leave of this great Man, by whoſe Vigilancy, Courage,

[5] *Abu'lpheda.* [6] *An. Heg.* 83. cœpit Feb. 3. A. C. 702.
[7] *D'Herbelot* in *Vaſſeth.*

and

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 83. cœpit Feb. 3. A. C. 702.

and Conduct the *Saracen* Empire was perfectly quieted and firmly eſtabliſhed under the Government of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, it will not be amiſs to relate a few Inſtances illuſtrating the Greatneſs and Singularity of his Genius.

[9] One day as he was taking a Walk in the Field, he met with a wild *Arab* who knew nothing at all of him, and aſked him what ſort of a Man this *Hejage* was whom they talked of ſo much. The *Arab* anſwered that he was a wicked Man. Then ſaid *Hejage*, do you not know me? The *Arab* anſwering No; I would have you to know then, ſaid *Hejage*, that it is *Hejage* you are talking to now.

The *Arab* having heard him talk after this manner, without expreſſing any manner of concern ſaid to him; And do you know who I am? No, anſwered *Hejage*. I am, ſaid the *Arab*, of the Family of *Zobeir*, whoſe Poſterity all became Fools three days in the Year, and this is one of them. *Hejage* could not forbear laughing and admiring ſuch an ingenious Come-off as this: So that though he was extremely ſevere and reckoned cruel, for they ſay he had put to Death an Hundred and twenty Thouſand Perſons, and when he died had fifty Thouſand in his Priſons; yet he pardoned this *Arab*, whom he eſteemed for his Wit and Courage.

[9] *D'Herbelot* in *Hejage*.

Now

Now ſee another Accident, wherein *Hejage* ſhewed plainly what he was. Having taken a great many Officers Priſoners in the Battle which he gained over *Abdorrahmàn*; he reſolved to put them all to the Sword. One of the Priſoners, juſt as he was going to be Executed, cried out that he had a piece of Juſtice to demand of *Hejage*. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 83. *cœpit Feb.* 3. *A. C.* 702.

Hejage, very much ſurpriſed at what he ſaid, aſked him what he had to demand of him? The Priſoner anſwered, It is becauſe when our General *Abdorrahmàn* railed againſt you after an extravagant manner, I told him he was in the wrong. Upon this *Hejage* aſked the Priſoner if he had any body to witneſs his ſaying ſo. Yes, anſwered the Priſoner; and ſhewed him one of his Comrades condemned to Death as well as himſelf, who was preſent when he ſaid it. *Hejage* being ſatisfied of the truth of the Fact, ſaid to the Witneſs, And what is the reaſon you did not do ſo as well as your Comrade? This undaunted Man anſwered him fiercely, I did not do it becauſe you are my Enemy. *Hejage* gave them both their Lives; the one to acknowledge his Obligation; the other for having confeſſed the Truth with ſo much Frankneſs and Courage.

Some People having complained of the Cruelty of his Behaviour towards his Subjects, and ſet

Abdolmélick An.Heg.83. *capit Feb.* 3. *A.C.* 702.

ſet the fear of God before his Eyes; he inſtantly mounted the Pulpit to harangue the People, and without any Preparation diſcourſed them after this manner, with his ordinary Eloquence. "God hath at preſent given me the Power over "you, and if I exerciſe it with ſome Severity, "do not you believe that you ſhall be upon better Terms after my Deceaſe! After the manner that you live you will always be ill uſed; "for God hath a great many Servants, and when "I ſhall be dead he will ſend you another, who "may poſſibly execute his Commands againſt "you with greater Severity. Would you have "a Prince ſweet and moderate? Exerciſe Juſtice among your ſelves and obey his Orders. "Depend upon it that the Behaviour of your "ſelves is the Principle, and the Cauſe of the "good or ill Treatment which you receive at "his Hands. The Prince may juſtly be compared to a Looking-glaſs; all that you ſee in "the Glaſs is nothing but the return of the Objects you preſent it to."

Once when he was a Hunting, he loſt his Company, and found himſelf very thirſty in a loneſome Place, where an *Arab* was feeding his Camels. As ſoon as he appeared the Camels wers ſcared away, which made the *Arab*, who was minding ſomething elſe, lift up his Head in a great Paſſion and ſay, Who is this with his fine

fine Cloaths that comes here in the Deſart to ſcare my Camels, the Curſe of God light upon him. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 83. *cœpit Feb.* 3. *A. C.* 702.

Hejage without taking notice of what he ſaid came up to him, and ſaluted him very civilly, wiſhing him Peace; but he inſtead of returning his Salutation anſwered him roughly, that he neither wiſhed him Peace, nor any Bleſſing of God. *Hejage* ſeemed not to underſtand him, and begged of him ſome Water to Drink. The *Arab* told him, that if he had a mind to Drink, he might alight and help himſelf, for he was neither his Fellow nor his Man. *Hejage* did as he bad him, and having drunk aſked him this Queſtion, Whom do you believe to be the greateſt and moſt excellent of all Men? It is the Prophet ſent by God, (burſt you) ſaid the *Arab*. And what do you ſay of *Ali*, added *Hejage?* The *Arab* anſwered, His Excellency cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed in Words. *Hejage* continuing his Diſcourſe aſked what he thought of *Abdolmélick!* The *Arab* made no Anſwer at firſt, but being preſſed he let fall as much as if he took him to be a bad Prince. Why ſo, anſwered *Hejage?* Becauſe he has ſent us for a Governour the wickedeſt Man under the Heavens.

Hejage, knowing that the *Arab* ſpoke of him, ſaid no more; when it happened that a Bird flying over their Heads made a ſort of Noiſe, which

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 83. *incipit Feb.* 3. *A.C.* 702.

which the *Arab* had no ſooner heard, but he looked ſtedfaſtly upon *Hejage*, and aſked him who he was. *Hejage* having aſked him what was the Reaſon of that Queſtion; It is, ſaid the *Arab*, becauſe this Bird that went by told me that there was a Company of People not far off, and that very likely you are the Chief of them. The *Arab* had no ſooner made an end of his Diſcourſe, when *Hejage* his People came up, and received Order from him to carry the *Arab* along with them.

The Day after, *Hejage* called for him, and made him ſit down at his Table, and commanded him to eat; the *Arab*, before he began to eat, ſaid his uſual Grace, *God grant that the end of this Meal may be as fortunate as the beginning.*

Whilſt they were eating, *Hejage* aſked him if he remembered the Diſcourſe that had paſſed between them the Day before. The *Arab* anſwered him immediately; God proſper you in every thing, but as for Yeſterday's Secret, take care you do not divulge it to Day. That I will, ſaid *Hejage*; but you muſt chuſe one of theſe two things, either to acknowledge me for your Maſter, and then I will retain you in my Service; or elſe to be ſent to *Abdolmélick*, to whom I ſhall give an account of all that you have ſaid of him. The *Arab* having heard *Hejage*'s Pro-

po-

poſal anſwered him inſtantly: There is a third way you may take, which ſeems to me to be much better. What is that, ſaid *Hejage?* It is, ſaid the *Arab*, to ſend me Home, and that you and I may never ſee one another any more. *Hejage*, as fierce as he was, was pleaſed to hear the Man talk with ſo much Spirit, and gave him ten Thouſand Drachms of Silver, and ſent him home according to his Deſire. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 83. *cœpit Feb.* 3. *A. C.* 702.

It is proper to obſerve here, upon the occaſion of this Bird that made it ſelf be underſtood by the *Arabian*, that there are Folks among the People of *Arabia* that pretend to know the Language of Birds. They ſay that this Science has been known amongſt them ever ſince the time of *Solomon*, and the Queen of *Sheba*, who had a Bird call *Húdhud*, that is the Houp, who was the Meſſenger of their Amours.

Kumeil the Son of *Ziyad* was a Man of fine Wit. He lived in the time of *Hejage*, and did by no means approve of his Conduct. One Day *Hejage* made him come before him, and reproached him, becauſe in ſuch a Garden, and before ſuch and ſuch Perſons, which he named to him, he had made a great many Imprecations againſt him, ſaying, *The Lord blacken his Face*, that is, *Fill him with Shame and Confuſion*, and wiſhed that his Neck was cut off, and his Blood ſhed.

Kumeil,

Abdolmélick An.Heg. 83. *cœpit Feb.* 3. *A.C.* 702.

Kumeil who had a very ready Wit, anſwered him inſtantly; It is true that I did ſay theſe Words in ſuch a Garden, but then I was under a Vine-Arbour, and was looking upon a Bunch of Grapes that was not yet ripe, and I wiſhed that they would turn Black ſoon, that they might be cut off and made Wine of. This ingenious Explication pleaſed *Hejage* ſo well, that he ſent *Kumeil* home, and re-eſtabliſhed him in his Favour.

[1] *Ebn Corrah*, a Perſon celebrated for his Piety and his Learning, and whoſe Father had been one of the Companions of the Apoſtle, was very well acquainted with him. One Day when he was with him, the Porter came out and told them, that there was a *Kateb* or Secretary at the Gate; on which *Ebn Corrah* ſaid, Theſe Secretaries are the worſt of all ſorts of People. Nevertheleſs the Secretary came in and was well received by *Hejage*, who after he had diſmiſſed him, ſaid to *Ebn Corrah*, Were it not for the Title of *Companion of Mahomet* that is in your Family, I would make your Neck be cut off: For the *Alcoran* ſays, *Honour the Writers*. *Ebn Corrah* anſwered him immediately, I ſpeak of the Secretaries of the *Divàn*, and not of the Angels which are called Writers of the *Alcoran*, becauſe they write the Actions of Men to produce them at the laſt Judgment.

[1] *D'Herbelot* in *Corrah*.

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Abdolmélick An. Heg. 83. *cœpit Feb.* 3. *A. C.* 702.

[4] It is reported that *Hejage*, to excuſe the Severity which he exerciſed over thoſe that were under him, uſed frequently to ſay; that the ſevere or even violent Government of a Prince, is better than a weak and too indulgent Government; becauſe that only doth wrong to ſome particular Perſons, whereas this other hurts and injures all the People in general.

He alſo uſed to ſay, that the Obedience due to Princes is more abſolute and neceſſary, than that which Men owe to God; according to the *Alcoran*, for that ſpeaking of this latter ſays, *Obey God as far as you are able*: In which Words there is a Condition or Exception: But of that which concerns Princes it is ſaid, *Hear and obey*, without any Exception: So that, ſaid he, if I command any one to ſubmit to ſuch or ſuch a thing, and he refuſes it, he is guilty of Diſobedience, and conſequently worthy of Death.

Some having heard him talk after this manner ſaid to him: Then you are an envious and an ambitious Man, becauſe you pretend to have a greater Authority than others. To which he anſwered; He is ſtill more envious and ambitious than me, who ſays to God, *Give me, O Lord, a Condition of Life which no body can enjoy after me.*

[4] *Idem* in *Hejage.*

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 83. *cœpit Feb.* 3. *A. C.* 702.

Having once recommended himſelf to the Prayers of a Religious *Muſleman*, he inſtantly prayed that it would pleaſe God to kill him quickly, for, ſaid he, there can nothing fall out better either for him or for the People.

Mircond writes that when he was taken to his Bed of his laſt Sickneſs, he conſulted his Aſtrologer to know of him, if he did not find in his Ephemerides that ſome great Captain was near the end of his Days. The Aſtrologer anſwered him, that a great Lord called *Kolaib* was threatened according to his Obſervations to die quickly. *Hejage* replied, That is exactly the Name that my Mother gave me when I was a Child. This word ſignifies in the *Arabick*, a little Dog.

The Aſtrologer, no leſs imprudent in his Diſcourſe, than ſkilful in his Art, went on very bluntly ſaying, Then it is you that muſt die, you have no room to doubt it. *Hejage*, offended at this Diſcourſe, ſaid inſtantly to the Aſtrologer, Since I muſt die, and you are ſo dextrous in your Predictions, I will ſend you before me into the other World, that I may make uſe of you: and gave order at the ſame time to have him diſpatched.

The ſame Author places the Death of *Hejage* in the Ninety fifth Year of the *Hegirah*, and the Fifty fourth of his Age; and ſays of him, that he

he was born ſhut up at the Bottom; ſo that they were forced to open him with Surgeons Inſtruments. Abdolmélick An. Heg. 83. *cœpit Feb.* 3. *A.C.* 702.

They ſay that he was ſo magnificent in his Entertainments, that he had ſometimes a thouſand Tables furniſhed, and that he uſed to make ſuch large Preſents to his Friends, as to give a Million of Pieces of Silver at one time.

Abulpharagius obſerves, that he fell ſick with eating Dirt. That Dirt is a ſort of Medicinal Clay, called by the Latins *Terra Lemnia*, and by the *Arabians*, *Thîn*, and *Thîn Mechtoum*, *Lutum & Lutum ſigillatum*; this threw him into a Conſumption of which he died. Thus much concerng *Hejage* out of *Monſieur D'Herbelot.*

[2] In the Eighty ſixth Year of the *Hegirah* *Abdolmélick* died. The Phyſicians had told him, that if he drank he would die; but his Thirſt increaſed ſo violently, that he was not able to forbear any longer, but commanded his Son *Waled* to give him ſome Water, which he refuſing he commanded his Daughter *Phatemah*; but *Waled* willing to keep him alive as long as he could, held her, and would not ſuffer it. Whereupon *Abdolmélick* told him in a Paſſion, that if he did not let her go, he would diſinherit him: So ſhe gave him Water, and he quick-

[2] *An. Heg.* 86. cœpit Jan. 1. A. C. 705. *Ebnol Athir.*

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 86. cœpit Jan. 1. A. C. 705.

ly expired. He died in the middle of the Month *Shewàl*: But he was always afraid of the Month *Ramadan*, and uſed to ſay he ſhould die in it; becauſe he was born in it, and weaned in it, and had learned the *Alcoran* by Heart in it, and in it was ſaluted Emperor.

[1] This *Caliph* having dreamt one Night, that he made Water in the moſt ſacred Part of the Temple of *Meccah*; and this Dream happening four times ſucceſſively; *Saad*, a Man excellently ſkilled in the Interpretation of Dreams, told him that four of his Children ſhould enjoy the *Caliphate* one after another; which accordingly came to paſs.

He had two Nicknames given him, the one was the [2] *Sweat of a Stone*, becauſe of his extreme Covetouſneſs; the other was *Father of Flyes*, upon the account of his ſtinking Breath, which was ſo nauſeous that it killed all the Flies that lighted upon his Lips.

The Inſcription of his Seal was, *I believe in God our Saviour.*

Abu'lpheda ſays, that he was a Man of Foreſight, and of very good Capacity and Underſtanding; he was couragious, learned and wiſe; but his being made *Caliph* quite turned him, and ſpoiled all his good Qualities.

[1] *Elmakin D'Herbelot.* [2] *Arab. Raſhhòl Hejer.* [3] *Aboùl Zebàb.*

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He died in the ſixtieth Year of his Age. He was much more Powerful than any of his Predeceſſors. He ſubdued *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and added *Arabia* to his Dominions; he entirely quelled all the ſeveral ſorts of Sectaries that appeared in Arms againſt him: In his Reign *India* was conquered in the Eaſt, and his victorious Arms penetrated even as far as *Spain* in the Weſt.

Abdolmélick An. Heg. 86. *cœpit Jan.* 1. *A.C.* 705.

F I N I S.

SENTENCES

OF

ALI,

Son-in-Law of MAHOMET, and his Fourth Succeſſor.

Tranſlated from an Authentick Arabick *Manuſcript in the* Bodleian *Library at* Oxford,

By SIMON OCKLEY, B.D.

Profeſſor of *Arabick* in the Univerſity of CAMBRIDGE, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable ROBERT Earl of OXFORD and Earl MORTIMER.

TO

THOMAS FREKE

Of Hannington, Wilts, *Eſq*;

SIR,

I PRESUME to preſent you with theſe few SENTENCES, at whoſe Requeſt I Tranſlated them out of the *Arabick* Manuſcript. Your Approbation of them, prevents my ſaying any thing more to You concerning them.

Only give me leave to add this, That there are few Perſons of your Generous Temper, who, as You are pleaſed to ſay, value the *Arabians* purely upon the ſcore of their *Sincerity*, and their being entirely *in Earneſt* both in their Words and Actions. Certainly they were very much ſo; and it were heartily to be wiſhed, that we who deſpiſe them, could learn, at leaſt in that reſpect, to follow their Example.

Give me leave, Sir, here to acknowledge my Obligation to You, for Your

kind Aſſiſtance, in promoting my *Second Volume of the Hiſtory of the Saracens*. You were pleaſed firſt to invite me to that Work; and the Publick will be indebted to You, at leaſt, that it was done ſo ſoon, if not that it was ever done at all.

I know, Sir, you hate Flattery, as inconſiſtent with that Simplicity of Manners which You ſo juſtly admire in the *Arabians*; wherefore I add no more, leſt You ſhould miſtake me.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obliged,

humble Servant,

SIMON OCKLEY.

THE PREFACE.

IF Providence hath removed us to a greater Diſtance from the influence of thoſe Genial Rays which ripen the Wits of the Eaſtern *Nations, it hath made us abundant Amends; by indulging us in this Conceit, that we are wiſer than all the reſt of the World beſides.*

There are ſome ſorts of pleaſing Madneſs, which it would be Cruelty to cure a Man of. By bringing him to his Senſes, you make him Miſerable.

You will aſk me, perhaps, what is the Meaning of all this? Why, in good truth, the Meaning of it is, a juſt Indignation againſt the Impertinence of thoſe who imagine that they know every thing, when in reality they underſtand nothing.

And to be more particular: The Folly of the Weſterlings, *in deſpiſing the Wiſdom of the* Eaſtern *Nations, and looking upon them as Brutes and Barbarians; whilſt we arrogate to ourſelves every thing that is Wiſe and Polite; and if we chance to light upon a juſt Thought, we applaud our ſelves upon the Diſcovery, though it was better underſtood Three Thouſand Years ago.*

This

This happens to us through want of good Reading, and a true Way of Thinking; for the Caſe is this, That little ſmattering of Knowledge which we have, is entirely derived from the Eaſt. *They firſt communicated it to the* Greeks, (*a vain, conceited People, who never penetrated into the Depths of* Oriental *Wiſdom*) *from whom the* Romans *had theirs. And after Barbarity had ſpread it ſelf over the* Weſtern *World, the* Arabians, *by their Conqueſts, reſtored it again in* Europe: *And it is the wildeſt Conceit that can be imagined, for us, to ſuppoſe that we have greater Geniuſes, or greater Application, than is to be found in thoſe Countries: if it be allowed that we have of late made greater Advances in the Sciences; that is not ſo much to our preſent Purpoſe, as the Conſideration of Things of Univerſal Neceſſity, the Fear of God, the Regulation of our Appetites, prudent Oeconomy, Decency and Sobriety of Behaviour in all Conditions and Emergencies of Life; in any of which Articles,* (*which, after all, are the Grand Concern*) *if the* Weſterlings *have made any, even the leaſt Improvement, to the* Eaſtern *Wiſdom, I muſt confeſs myſelf to be very much miſtaken.*

They have their Wiſdom by Inheritance, derived from their Fore-fathers through numerous Generations. They are tenacious of their Ancient Cuſtoms, and retain the Precepts of their Anceſtors; they couch more ſolid Wiſdom under one ſingle Apho-

Aphoriſm, than ſome European *Writers would put into a* Syſtem.

They govern their Families with Prudence and Diſcretion; We make their Polygamy an Objection againſt them; but we muſt conſider that they are not Chriſtians, and therefore continue their Way of Living, after the Patriarchal Manner. But to ſay no more upon that Point, how would they abhor and abominate the horrible Inſtances which we have of European *Lewdneſs!*

How would they ſmile, to ſee a Man jangling it out with his Wife thirty or forty Years together, which of the two ſhould govern the Family! Others calling Riot and Exceſs, Impertinence and Rage, good Fellowſhip! Another beſpeaking a New Suit this Week, leſt he ſhould be the Jeſt of the Town and Country, for being out of Faſhion the next! And ſome cumbring One Houſe with far-fetched and dear-bought Superfluities, at ſuch an Expence as would provide decent Furniture for Fifty!

Some Perſons of Underſtanding have been of Opinion, that the Wiſdom of a Nation may be judged of by the Sententiouſneſs of their Proverbs and Sayings in common uſe among them: In this the Arabs *excell all Nations. As for their* Proverbs, *ſtrictly ſo called, in which there is Alluſion to ſome Hiſtory, Animal, Vegetable, or the like, they cannot be underſtood without a Comment,*

and

and do not come under our preſent Conſideration. What we here preſent the Reader with, is a little Collection of Wiſe Sentences, *calculated for the Direction of a Man's Conduct in Affairs of the greateſt Conſideration, and are of the ſame Nature as the* Proverbs, *and* Eccleſiaſticus.

They are called the Sencences of Ali *the Son of* Abu Taleb. *The whole Book is, as near as I can gueſs, not much leſs than our* New Teſtament. *I ſhall not add any more concerning* Ali *in this Place, becauſe I have written his Life at large: It is the Firſt in the Second Volume of the Hiſtory of the* Saracens.

But I am far from Believing that Ali *was the Author of all theſe Sentences. He might Collect them, for ought I know, and add ſome more of his own; but this I am ſure of that they ſavour of much greater Antiquity than the time in which he lived; becauſe he was Contemporary with* Mahomet, *who flouriſhed in the Year of our Lord Six hundred and twenty two. Perhaps there are ſome who will not allow the* Arabians *to have had ſo much Learning among them at that Time, as to be able to undertake ſuch a Work: But I ſhall not enter into that Diſpute at preſent.*

The Book is a Venerable Piece of Antiquity, and it is Pity but we had it all Tranſlated; which would be difficult to be exactly performed, unleſs

by

by a Perſon who hath had the Advantage of Travelling into the Eaſtern *Countries.*

To criticiſe upon it in the proper manner, One ought to have regard not only to Precepts of that kind, contained in the Old Teſtament, *but whatſoever elſe can be found that is* Jewiſh, *either in* Eccleſiaſticus, *the* Talmud, *Sentences of* Ben Syra, *or any other Rabbinical Records. Not that I believe that the* Arabians *derived their Knowledge from the* Jews, *but that they were Collateral with them in that reſpect; and that there are a great many things which they derived from* Abraham *and* Iſhmael. *The ſame is to be conceived of the* Idumeans, Moabites, *and* Ammonites, *of all which there is no queſtion but there are Remains in* Arabia, *though now undiſtinguiſhed.*

Which that I may not ſeem to ſuggeſt without any Reaſon at all, give me Leave to offer this for the Preſent; That the Conteſt, before the Time of Alexander the Great, *lay between the* Eaſtern *Powers and the more* Weſtern *Parts of* Syria, Paleſtine, Ægypt, *and* Æthiopia. *The Peninſula of* Arabia *being conterminous, and yet quite out of the Way of thoſe numerous Armies; it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the diſtreſſed Inhabitants, through whoſe Country theſe Forces were to paſs, retired thither. And it was their Cuſtom always, either at the Parting with their Children, and eſpecially*

upon

upon their Death-Beds, to recommend to them ſome few Precepts founded upon their own or their Fore-fathers Experience, which afterwards encreaſing, were collected into Volumes by Wiſe and Learned Men. After the ſame manner Eccleſiaſticus *was written, as appears by the Preface of it, and this* Arabick *one of ours, without all queſtion; but how or by whom, remains yet undiſcovered.*

The Sentences are full, and to the Purpoſe: They breathe a Spirit of Devotion, Strictneſs of Life, and expreſs the greateſt Gravity, and a moſt profound Experience in all the Affairs of Human Life. It is not expected that there ſhould be a Turn, *as we call it, in every one of them, nor that we need be ſurprized at every Line, when we knew from the Divine Books the Contents of it before.*

All that I ſay, is, that there is enough, even in this little Handful, to vindicate, in the Judgment of any Man of Senſe, the poor injured Arabians, *from the Imputation of that groſs Ignorance faſtened upon them by Modern Novices.*

SEN-

SENTENCES of *ALI*, Son-in-Law of *MAHOMET*, And his Fourth Succeſſor.

1. FEAR God, and thou art ſecure from every one elſe.

2. Contradict thyſelf, and thou ſhalt find Reſt.

3. The Fear of God brightneth the Heart.

4. The beſt part of Riches, is that which is ſpent in God's Way.

5. Acquieſcence in the Divine Will, is the Healing of the Heart.

6. The Diſeaſe of the Heart is in Concupiſcence.

7. A Man's Behaviour is the *Index* of the *Man*; and his Diſcourſe is the *Index* of his Underſtanding.

8. The Covetous Man's Penny is a Stone.

9. One *Fault* is a great Matter; but the *Remembrance* of Divine Things, and a thouſand *Obediences*, is but a ſmall Matter.

10. The Remembrance of Youth is a Sigh.

11. The Sight of a Friend brightneth the Eye.

12. Re-

12. Reverence thy Father, and thy Son will reverence thee.

13. The Enjoyment and Delight of Life conſiſteth in *Security*.

14. The Order of a Wiſe Man is the Higheſt of Orders.

15. Thy Lot, or Portion of Life, is ſeeking after *thee*; therefore be at reſt from ſeeking after *it*.

16. The reſtraining the *Soul* [or *Self*] from the *Appetite*, is the greateſt *Holy War*.

17. Attend diligently to the Conſequences, and thou ſhalt eſcape from Slips.

18. The Favour of God is the neareſt of all Ends to be obtained.

19. The Favour of God, He be Praiſed, is joined to the Obedience towards him.

20. Thy Delight in thyſelf, is from the Corruption of thy Underſtanding.

21. Thy Delight in the World, is from the Badneſs of thy Choice, and the Miſery of thy Labour.

22. He delights in Contempt, who openeth his Grievance to another.

23. The ſhewing Mercy to the Afflicted, bringeth down Mercy.

24. He delights in Diſappointment, who depends upon bad Men for his Subſiſtence.

25. I

25. I delight more in the *Determination* [or *Opinion*] of a [3] *Religious*, than in the Strength of a *Man*.

26. The *Riding* (*i. e.* Governing) thy Appetite, will procure Riches.

27. The *Riding* the *Appetites* cuts off Mens Obſervation.

28. A Man's Advice is the Balance of his Underſtanding.

29. Every Man's Portion is as much determined as his Latter End.

30. A Man's Advice is according to the Meaſure of his Experience.

31. A Man's Subſiſtence is according to what he propoſeth, i. e. *according to his Management; becauſe every Action of his Life tends to ſomething or other which contributes either to the encreaſing or diminiſhing him. Not that this can be affirmed of every Action conſidered abſtractedly, but as it connects thoſe Actions together, which neceſſarily tend to the Determining a Man's Condition of Life.*

32. A Man's gentle Behaviour and Liberality make his Enemies love him.

33. A Man's *Meſſenger* is the Interpreter of his Meaning; but his *Letter* is of more Efficacy than his *Diſcourſe*.

[3] In the *Arabick* it is *Aſſheick*, which ſignifies a Profeſſed Doctor, that liveth up to the Strictneſs of the Law.

34. The *Apoſtles* of God, *He be Praiſed*, are the Interpreters of the Truth, and the Ambaſſadors between the Creator and the Creature.

35. The *Delight* of the [7] *Servant* in *himſelf* is joined to the Diſpleaſure of his *Lord*.

36. Conſider before thou doeſt any thing, and thou ſhalt not be blamed in what thou doeſt.

37. The glittering Ornaments of the World ſpoil weak Underſtandings.

38. *Liberality* is the *Cauſe of Love*.

39. *Performing* a Man's *Promiſe* is the *Cauſe* of *Unity*.

40. *Abſtinence* is the *Cauſe* of *Pure Religion*.

41. *Concupiſcence* is the *Cauſe* of *certain Deſtruction*.

42. *Truſt in God*, is the *Cauſe* of *Pure Faith*.

43. *Deſire* is the *Cauſe* of the Deſtruction of the Underſtanding.

44. The *Love* of the *Preſent World* is the *Cauſe* of *Miſery*.

45. *Infidelity* is the *Cauſe* of the *Removal of God's Bleſſing*.

46. Following one's Anger is the *Cauſe* of Deſtruction.

47. *Good Education* is the *Cauſe* of a *refined Diſpoſition*.

[7] SERVANT is meant the *Creature*; by LORD, the *Creator*.

48. *Gen-*

48. *Gentleneſs* of *Behaviour* is the *Cauſe of Reverence.*

49. The *Power* of *Religion* is the *Cauſe* of *Abſtinence.*

Thankfulneſs is the *Cauſe* of *Encreaſe.*

51. For the *Soul* to be employed about what ſhall not accompany it after *Death*, is the greateſt *Weakneſs.*

52. To depend upon every one without Diſtinction, is Weakneſs of Underſtanding.

53. That is the Man of *Underſtanding*, that overcometh his *Appetite*, *and will not ſell* HIS WORLD TO-COME, for HIS PRESENT WORLD.

54. He is the *Cunning* Man, that neglects other People, and looks narrowly after himſelf.

55. *Fear* withholds the Soul from Sins, and reſtrains it from Tranſgreſſions.

56. He is an Underſtanding Man that refrains his Tongue from Detraction.

57. He is a *Believer* that purifieth his Heart from *Doubt.*

58. Riches are a Damage to the Owner, except that Part of them which he ſends before him.

59. The World is the *Shadow* of a *Cloud*, and the *Dream* of *Sleep.*

60. The *truly Pious*, their Works are pure, their Eyes Weeping, and their Hearts Trembling.

61. The *truly Pious*, their *Souls* are contented, and their *Appetites* dead; their Countenances *chearful*, and their Hearts *ſorrowful*.

62. The *Believer* always remembers *God*, and is full of *Thought*: He is *Thankful* in *Proſperity*, and *Patient* in *Adverſity*.

63. Partnerſhip in Poſſeſſion leadeth to Confuſion: Partnerſhip in Counſel leadeth the Right Way.

64. KNOWLEDGE calleth out to PRACTICE; and if it *anſwereth*, a [WELL:] If *not*, it goeth away.

65. *Things* (or the Affairs of Human Life,) go by *Divine Decree*, not by our Adminiſtration.

66. There are two ſorts of Patience; the one, by which we bear up in Adverſity, which is fine and beautiful; but that Patience whereby we withſtand the Commiſſion of Evil is better.

67. A Man's entertaining a mean Opinion of himſelf, is a Demonſtration of the Gravity of his Underſtanding, and a Branch of the Abundance of his Excellency.

68. A Man's admiring himſelf, is a Demonſtration of his Deficiency, and a Branch of the Weakneſs of his Underſtanding.

69. He that is certain of (or firmly believeth) a Future State, is the moſt melancholy Man, upon his own account, of all Men in the World.

70. He that periſhes, is one that buſies himſelf

ſelf beſide himſelf; and whoſe TO-DAY is worſe than his YESTERDAY.

71. He is thy true Friend, that takes care of thee as himſelf, and prefers thee to his Riches, Children, and Wife.

72. He is a Wiſe Man who can govern himſelf both in his *Anger*, *Deſire* and *Fear*.

73. Weeping out of the Fear of God, enlighteneth the Heart, and fortifieth againſt the Return of Sin.

74. Opportunity is ſwift of Flight, ſlow of Return.

75. To make one good Action ſucceed another [conſtantly,) is the Perfection of Goodneſs.

76. Patience in Poverty, with Credit [or a good Reputation,] is better than a plentiful Maintenance with Contempt.

77. A Wiſe Enemy is better than a Fooliſh Friend.

78. A Man's Affliction is the Fore-runner of his Proſperity.

79. Men are more like the Time they live in, than they are like their Fathers.

80. A Man that knoweth the juſt Value of himſelf doth not periſh.

81. The Value of every Man, is the Good which he doth.

82. He that knows himſelf, knows his Lord.

83. A Man is hid under his Tongue.

84. No Praiſe with Pride.

85. No Innocency with Covetouſneſs.

86. No Reſt where there is Envy.

87. It concerns thee more to fly from thy ſelf, than from a Lyon.

88. He that hath no Courage, hath no Religion.

89. A Wiſe Man is never Poor.

90. There is no Generoſity in a Lyar.

91. He that is fearful, will be ſecure at his Journey's End.

92. No Health with Gluttony.

93. No Generoſity of Spirit with a bad Education.

94. A Man governeth his People by doing them good.

95. The Tongue of a Wiſe Man lieth behind his Heart.

96. The Heart of a Fool lieth behind his Tongue.

97. The Complaiſance of a Fool is like a Garden in a Dunghill.

98. Impatience is more irkſome than Patience.

99. He that purſueth that which is not convenient for him, loſeth that which is convenient for him.

100. A Man that is given to Jeſting, will never fail of Hatred nor Contempt.

101. *De-*

101. *Deſpair* is a *Freeman*, *Hope* is a *Slave*.[4]

102. The Opinion of a Wiſe Man is *Divination*, [or an *Oracle*.]

103. Enmity is Buſineſs enough.

104. A Covetous Man doth not live.

105. His Life is long, whoſe Labour is ſhort.

106. The Purſuit of good Education, is better than the Purſuit of Riches.

107. His *Grief* is *long*, whoſe *Hope* is *ſhort*.

108. Happy is he that hath no Family.

109. It is better that Kings ſhould be Unjuſt, than Mean-ſpirited.

110. The Thirſt after *Wealth*, is greater than the Thirſt after *Drink*.

111. He cheats you who makes you angry about a Trifle.

112. A Man's Glory from his Virtue, is greater than his Glory from his Pedigree.

113. Your Victory over your Enemy, is your Forbearance.

114. The *Freedom* of a Man *conſiſts* in ſpeaking *Truth*.[5]

115. The *Strength* of the *Heart*, is from the *Soundneſs* of the *Faith*.

[4] So long as a Man is in Expectation, his Thoughts are in Suſpence, and he is in a ſlaviſh Condition; but as ſoon as he gives over his Purſuit, he is free, and at Liberty.

[5] Not that a Man is obliged to ſpeak every Truth that he knows or believes; but that an Habit of ſpeaking Truth, as it flows from, ſo it naturally ſupports a Generoſity and Freedom of Spirit.

116. The Word of God, is the Medicine of the Heart.

117. Death will rid you of the Faults of the World.

118. There is a Cure for all Enmity, but the Enmity of the Envious Man.

119. Being acquainted with bad Men, is going to Sea.

120. He that holdeth his Peace, doth not repent.

121. He that gives a liſtening Ear to reproach, is one of thoſe that deſerve Reproach.

122. Your being angry, is reproachful before God.

123. The Praiſe of a Man, is under his Tongue.

124. The Converſation of Young Men is deſtructive of Religion.

125. A Learned Converſation is the Garden of Paradiſe.

126. The Deſtruction of a Man is the Vehemency of his Temper.

127. The Forgetfulneſs of Death, is the ruſt of the Heart.

128. The Light of thy Heart is in Prayer in the Darkneſs of the Night.

129. The Greyneſs of thy Head, is the * News of thy own Death.

* That Word which is here tranſlated *News*, is uſed in a very particularly Emphatical manner; for it ſignifies the Report of any Perſon's Death.

130. Truſt

130. Truſt in *God*, is the Believer's Caſtle.

131. *Holy Wars* [3] are the Pillars of Religion, and the Highways of the Happy: And to thoſe that are engaged in them, the Gates of Heaven ſhall be open.

132. Repentance purifieth the Heart, and waſheth away Sin.

133. Men, or Mankind, is divided into Two Parts or Sorts: The One ſeeketh, and doth not find; Another findeth, and is not contented.

134. The Good Man liveth, though he be tranſlated to the Manſions of the Dead.

135. The Declining from Evil, is better than the Doing Good.

136. *Knowledge* is the Ornament of the *Rich*, and the Riches of the Poor.

137. He that omitteth Practice, doth not ſufficiently believe the Reward that is annexed to it.

138. Clemency in Power, is a Defence againſt the Vengeance of God, his Name be Praiſed.

139. The Reverence of God, blotteth out a great many Sins.

140. Reſignation to the Providence of God, makes the greateſt Afflictions eaſy.

141. Quarrelling diſcovereth a Man's Folly, but addeth nothing to the Truth of his Cauſe.

[3] That is, Wars undertaken for *the Support of the* Religion, *i. e.* Mahometan.

142. *Truth*

142. *Truth* is the Conformity of *Speech*, to the End for which God ordained it.

143. A *Lye* is perverting Language from the End for which God ordained it.

144. Adverſity makes no Impreſſion upon a brave Soul.

145. Truſt in God, is a Caſtle of Defence to him that flieth to it.

146. *Impatience* under *Affliction* is worſe than the *Affliction*.

147. That Man hath a brave Soul, who declineth from Things unlawful, and keepeth at a Diſtance from what is criminal.

148. Covetouſneſs is the Head of Poverty, and the Foundation of Wickedneſs.

149. A *Deceiver*'s Tongue is *ſweet*, and his Heart *bitter*.

150. Perfection conſiſts in *Three Things*; *Patience* in *Afflictions*; *Moderation* in *our Purſuits*; and Aſſiſting him that Aſketh.

151. A *Wiſe Man* knoweth a *Fool*, becauſe he hath formerly been ignorant himſelf: but a *Fool* doth not know a Wiſe Man, becauſe he never was wiſe himſelf.

152. The *Believer* is always cautious of his Sins: He dreads *Temptation*, and hopes for the Mercy of his Lord.

153. The *Faith* (i. e. *Religion*) is a *Tree*, the *Root* of which is *firm Aſſurance*; the *Branch*, the

the Fear of God; the *Flower*, [7] *Modeſty*; and the *Fruit*, *Generoſity of Spirit*.

154. *Anger* is a Fire kindled: He that reſtraineth it, putteth it out; but he that letteth it looſe, is the firſt that is conſumed by it.

155. *Folly* is an incurable Diſeaſe.

156. They who are *Friends in the Moſt High God*, their Love remaineth as long as the Cauſe of it: But as for the Friends of this Preſent World, their Love is broken off as ſoon as the Cauſes of it ceaſe.

157. A *Fool* doth not know what maketh him look little; neither will he hearken to him that adviſeth him.

158. *Riches*, without *God*, are the greateſt *Poverty* and *Miſery*.

159. *Liberality* and *Fortitude* are *Noble things*; which God, whoſe Name be praiſed, giveth to him whom he loveth and maketh Tryal of.

160. That Man travels the longeſt Journey, that undertakes it in the ſearch of a ſincere Friend.

161. He is the greateſt of all *Fools*, that doth no Good, and would yet be reſpected; and doth that which is Evil, and yet expecteth the Reward of the Good.

[7] *Modeſty* is not here to be underſtood in Oppoſition to *Unchaſtity*; but as it ſignifieth all *Decent Behaviour*.

162. The

162. The moſt odious of Men to the *Moſt High God*, is he whoſe Thoughts are fixed upon his Belly and his Luſt.

163. The moſt Happy Man, as to this Life, is he to whom God Moſt High hath given wherewithal to be Content, and a good Wife.

164. He is the moſt Juſt Man, that doth Juſtice upon himſelf, without any one elſe to judge him.

165. That Man beſt deſerveth a Kindneſs, who when he is put off, beareth it patiently; when he is refuſed, excuſeth it; and when he receiveth it, is thankful.

166. The *Diligence* of the *World*, is *Idleneſs*; the *Honour* of it, *Vileneſs*; the Height of it Lowneſs.

167. He that walketh upon the * Back of the Earth, is going into its Belly.

168. A Believer ſhould be aſhamed, when any Action paſſeth him which his Religion doth not oblige him to do.

169. Juſtice is the *Ballance* of *God*, which he hath ſet for *Men*; wherefore do not contradict him in his *Balance*, nor *oppoſe* him in his *Dominion*.

* By the *Back of the Earth*, he means the *Outſide*; by the *Belly*, the *Grave*.

End of the Sentences.

An Account of the AUTHORS.

Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ben Amer Ebn Waked Alwâkidi.

HE is a Celebrated Author amongſt the *Arabians*, and quoted as Authentick by the Authors that ſucceed him. My Anonymous Author that I found amongſt Dr. *Huntington's* Manuſcripts, (*Num.* 495.) ſpeaking concerning one *Caab* the Son of *Málek*, ſays, "That *Ebn* "*Alkulli* was miſtaken when he ſaid that he "was preſent at the Battle of *Beder*, and that "he died before the fortieth Year of the *Hegi-*"*rah*. *Alwákidi* (ſaith he) *who knew better than* "*he*, ſays that he died in the fiftieth Year."

Again; "*Hoſein*, the Son of *Ali*, took his "Journey from *Meccah* towards *Irak* with his "Friends and Relations; and was killed on the "tenth Day of *Moharram* in this Year Sixty "One, for certain: As is confirmed by *Alwá-*"*kidi* and others. Some think he was killed in "*Saphar* of the ſame Year; but the firſt Ac-"count is the right." [1] He wrote a Book which he calls *Arriddah*, wherein he gives an Account of the *Apoſtaſy* of the *Arabians* from *Mahome-*

[1] *Ebn Calechan.*

taniſm

taniſm after *Mahomet*'s Deceaſe; and the Wars between *Mahomet*'s *Companions* and *Tuleiha* the Son of *Choweiled*; and *Alaſwad Alabbàſi*, and *Moſeilamah the Falſe Prophet*. He was a great *Imám* or Doctor of the *Mahometan* Law; and a *Cadi* or Judge of *Bagdàd*. He wrote the Conqueſt of *Syria*. The Conqueſt of *Diarbeck*. He was a great Favourite of that Learned Emperor *Almamoùn*. He was born in the Beginning of the [6] One Hundred and Thirty Firſt Year of the *Hegirah*, and died on the Eleventh of the Month *Du'lhagiah*, in the Year of the *Hegirah* [7] Two Hundred and Seven. Being then a *Cadi* in *Bagdàd*. In the *Weſt* part of the Town. Though ſome ſay in the *Eaſt*. Aged Seventy four Lunar Years.

[8] *Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ben Jarir, Ebn Caled Altábari.*

THE moſt Celebrated and Authentick Ancient Hiſtorian amongſt the *Arabians*. He was a great *Imàm*, or Doctor, in ſeveral Capacities; as *Hiſtory*, *Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Law*, *Traditions of the Sayings or Facts of* MAHOMET, (called by the *Arabians Hadìth*;) and in the Expoſition of the *Alcorán*. He wrote ſeveral good Books in different Sciences; all

[6] Which began *Aug.* 30. *Anno Chriſti* 748. [7] Which began *May* 26. *Anno Chriſti* 822. [8] *Ebn Calecan.*

which

which ſhewed the Extent of his Knowledge, and his Great Excellency. He was born in the [1] Two Hundred and Twenty Fourth *Year of the Hegirah* and died at *Bagdàd* on the twenty fifth Day of the Month *Shewàl* in the Year [2] Three Hundred and Ten. Aged Eighty Four Years.

Abù'l Haſan Alì Ib'n Abil Carem, Mohammed, Ebn Mohammed, Ebn Abdo'l Walid, Aſsheibàni, commonly known by the Name of *Ebno'l Athir Aljazarì,* ſurnamed *Ezzoddin.*

HE was born in *Aljazirah*, and brought up there: from whence he removed into *Mauſal*, with his Father and his two Brethren (who were both very great Men) where he was an Auditor of *Abu Fadl*; Abdollah *the Son of* Aſhmed; The *Thuſian Orator*, and ſeveral others of the ſame Profeſſion. He went ſeveral Times to *Bagdàd*, both as a Traveller and as an Ambaſſador from the Lord *Mauſal*, where he was an Auditor of two famous *Sheiks*, beſides ſeveral others. From thence he removed into *Syria* and the *Holy Land*, where he was an Auditor of ſeveral Perſons of Note. From thence he returned back to *Mauſal*, where he lived a retired

[1] Which began *Nov.* 2. *Anno Chriſti* 838. [2] Which began *April* 30. *A. C.* 923. [3] *Ebn Calechan.*

Life,

Life, ſhut up at home; applying himſelf to Learning, and writing Books. His Houſe was the Place to which all the Learned Men in *Mauſal* were wont to reſort. He was excellently ſkilled in the [3] Knowledge of the Traditions relating to *Mahomet*'s Perſon, and thoſe Doctrines or Practices that are founded upon them; and thoroughly verſed both in Ancient and Modern Hiſtory. He underſtood perfectly the Ancient Tribes of the *Arabians*; their Deſcents and Families, and the ſeveral Occurrences amongſt them. He wrote a Book intitled [4] *Alcamil*, which he begins with the Creation, and brings down to the [5] Six Hundred and Twenty Eighth Year of the *Hegirah*: It is one of the beſt of Hiſtories. He wrote alſo the Hiſtory of the *Companions of Mahomet* in ſix large Volumes. He Epitomized *Kitàb Alinſàn* (*the Book of Man*) of *Abu Said*'s, and hath corrected a great many of his Miſtakes. That is a very uſeful Book. This Epitome is moſt frequently in uſe, and conſiſts of three Volumes. The Book it ſelf is in Eight, and is very hard to be found. I never ſaw it but once at *Aleppo*, and in *Ægypt* there is nothing of it but this *Epitome*.

[3] Which particular Knowledge, as we have before obſerved, is called by the Arabians *Alhadith*, [4] *i. e.* The Univerſal [*Hiſtory*,] the ſame that we have made uſe of, and always quoted under the Title either of *Ebno'l Athir*, or *Alcámil*. [5] Cœpit *Nov.* 8. *A. C.* 1230.

When

When I came to *Aleppo* in the latter end of the [1] Six Hundred and Twenty-ſixth Year, this ſame *Ezzoddîn* was there as a Gueſt with *Atthawaſhi Shehab'oddin Togorbel Alchadim Atábek Almélik Alaziz Ebn Almelik Attahir* Lord of *Aleppo*; and I found him a Perſon of extraordinary Merit; abounding with great Perfections, of a generous Temper and great Humility; and I uſed to viſit him frequently; and there was the ſtricteſt Friendſhip between him and *Alwaled*, (upon whom God have Mercy.) Then he travelled to *Damaſcus* about the middle of the [2] Six Hundred and Twenty-ſeventh Year, and about the middle of the [3] Sixth Hundred and Twenty-eighth Year he returned to *Aleppo*; where I renewed my Acquaintance with him. He did not ſtay there long before he removed to *Mauſal*. He was born on the fourth of the firſt *Jomáda* in the Year [4] Five Hundred and Fifty-five: In a Place called *the Iſland of the Children of* Amer. And he died in the Month *Shaaban*, in the Year [5] Six Hundred and Thirty, in *Mauſal*.

[1] Cœpit Nov. 25. A.C. 1228. [2] Cœpit Nov. 19. A.C. 1229. [3] Cœpit Nov. 8. A.C. 1230. [4] Cœpit Jan. 11. A.C. 1160. [5] Cœpit Oct. 17. A.C. 1232.

Abu'lpheda; His whole Title is, *Iſmael Ben Ali, Ben Mehmoud, Ben Mohammed; Ben Amer, Shahinſhah, Ben Iyub.*

IN the Title-Page of my Manuſcript is written thus. "This Book is collected from ſeveral Hiſtories; the firſt is the Book called "*Alcâmil*; [3] Kitab Kádi Shemſo'dein *Kitàb* "*Almodhaffèri. Taárich Abi'l Iſa.; Tejarob'l* "*Omami. Kitab Alyemen. Kitab Alkebruwàn.* "*Kitàb aldówali. Kitab Ali Ben Muſa. Kitàb* "*Muſáribh alkorùb. Kitàb Hàmzah. Kitàb* "*Hallàt. Kitàb Sepher Kúdâti Beni Iſraël.*" This laſt is the Book of the Judges of the Children of *Iſrael*, which, (ſo great was the Diligence and Exactneſs of that Learned Prince; that becauſe he did not underſtand *Hebrew* himſelf, he procured a Perſon ſkilled both in *Hebrew* and *Arabick* to read it to him.

[4] He is called Sultan, King and Prince of *Hamah* in *Syria*, where he reigned after his Brother *Ahmed*, ſurnamed *Almâlek-al Naſſer*, who was depoſed in the Year of the *Hegirah* [5] Seven Hundred and Forty-three. As ſoon as *Abu'lphéda* began to reign, he took the Title of *Almàlec Alſâlehh*, but he did not enjoy this Digni-

[3] N.B. *Kitàb* ſignifies *a Book*: *Taárich*, *an Hiſtory*.
[4] *D'Herbelot*, in Voce *Abou'lpheda*. [5] Cœpit. Jun. 5. A.C. 1342.

ty

ty above the Space of three Years. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that he was born in the [6] Six Hundred and Seventy-ſecond Year of the *Hegirah*, and that he died in the Year [7] Seven Hundred and Thirty-two. He is the Author of two Conſiderable Works; the firſt is intitled *Tekwim alboldàn*; it is a Geography diſpoſed by Tables according to the Order of the Climates with the Degrees of Longitude and Latitude of every Place; there are alſo ſome Notes, but they are not always correct. [8] The ſecond is the Abridgment of Univerſal Hiſtory to his own time, and bears this Title *Almokhtaſſer ſi akbàr albaſhar*. We find *Abu'lpheda*'s Encomium in the Divan of *Ebn Notabah* intitled *Soukalrefìk*.

Monſieur D'Herbelot.

A Learned *French-man*. One of the Greateſt *Orientaliſts* that ever *Europe* bred. He, with incredible Application, read over not only all the *Arabick*, *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Books in the *French* King's Library, and that of *Florence*, but ſeveral others that he had purchaſed for his own uſe. He made a compleat *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Dictionary in three large Volumes in *Folio*, never yet publiſhed. His Famous *Biblio-*

[6] Cœpit Jul. 17. A.C. 1273. [7] Cœpit Oct. 5. 1331.
[8] That is the ſame which we have made uſe of in this Hiſtory.

theque Orientale, containing a prodigious Treaſure of whatſoever is curious or valuable in the *Eaſtern* Authors, was publiſhed after his Deceaſe in the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred and Ninety-ſeven. It is common in the Hands of the Learned, and therefore I forbear ſaying any more concerning it.

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